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ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph.D.

OUTLINE

OF

PRACTICAL SOCIOLOGY

CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

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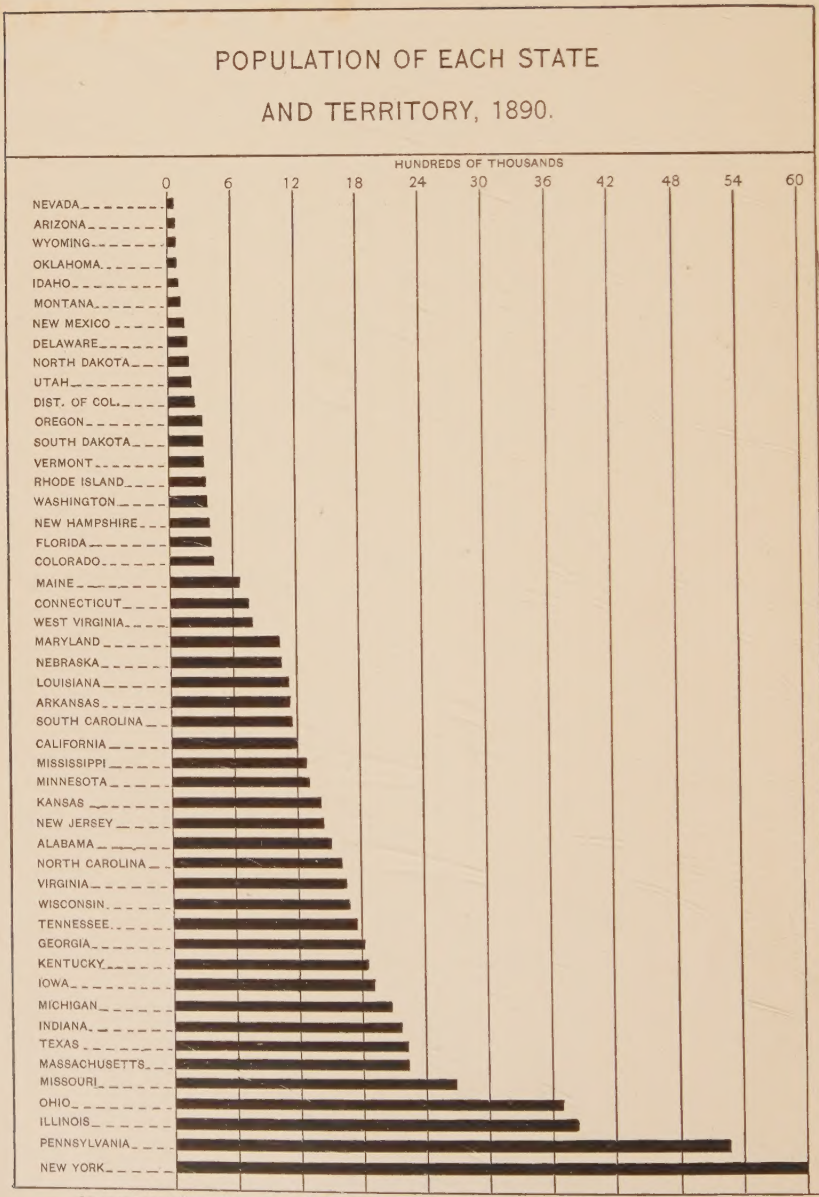

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J. H. Woods.
Oct 20. 1899.

American Citizen Series.

Outline
of
Practical Sociology.

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO AMERICAN CONDITIONS.

BY

CARROLL D. WRIGHT, LL.D.,

United States Commissioner of Labour,

AUTHOR OF "INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION OF THE UNITED STATES," ETC., ETC.

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To MY WIFE AND DAUGHTERS.

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Preface.

In preparing this work, I have made frequent and generous use of the results of official investigations which have been carried out under my own direction. They comprehend the work of more than twenty-five years; and as they cover many features of the present volume, I have felt justified in using them more freely than other official publications. The reports of the various State bureaus of statistics of labour offer a vast amount of valuable but cumulative material along the very lines of my own investigations. I have also drawn freely from lectures on social economics delivered at the Catholic University of America and at other institutions, and free use has also been made of articles that I have published in various magazines. The editors and publishers of *The Forum*, *North American Review*, *Popular Science Monthly*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *The Chautauquan*, *Munsey's*, *The Bulletin of the Catholic University of America*, *Annals of the American Academy*, and *The Journal of Sociology of the University of Chicago*, have generously given their consent for the use of articles or portions of articles that have appeared in those periodicals. The charts and diagrams have been reproduced from the reports of the Eleventh Census, with the kind permission of Hon. Cornelius N. Bliss, Secretary of

the Interior. Where figures used in this volume do not agree with those given in the census or in the articles to which reference has been made, the changes are due to reverification.

It is not intended that the "Outline of Practical Sociology" should be exhaustive; there are many great questions, such as taxation, the finances, etc., which have not been included, because they will come more appropriately in other volumes of the "American Citizen Series." The references given at the head of each chapter could have been greatly increased in number, but it was deemed advisable to give simply those that are most accessible.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the services of Messrs. CHARLES W. MORRIS, Jr., WALTER F. CARRUTHERS, and CHARLES H. VERRILL in the verification of data and citations and in proof-reading; and I am under great obligations to the editors and publishers of the periodicals enumerated and to the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, and am especially grateful for the kind and valuable suggestions of Dr. HART, the editor of the Series.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

WASHINGTON, *February* 1899.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDENTS, TEACHERS, AND READERS.

BY THE EDITOR.

The volumes of the American Citizen Series are intended to serve as handbooks on the subjects of which they treat, by giving a systematic outline in which general divisions and relations shall be made clear, problems shall be studied, and the criteria for solving them shall be pointed out. It is hoped, however, that both in general reading and in class work these books may stimulate further inquiry; and therefore pains have been taken throughout to indicate and to classify the more important literature. At the head of each chapter will be found a bibliography leading to additional material, both secondary and primary. It will thus be easy to supplement the treatment in each volume by reference to the appropriate parts of other treatises; and it will be possible also to illustrate and to verify by going to the sources.

Teachers may perhaps find it interesting and profitable to give out a chapter at a time to their students as a basis for study; indeed, the numbering of the paragraphs is intended to make easy the division into lessons. By using the references at the head of each chapter it will be possible for members of the class to prepare critiques of the author's treatment, or topical studies of subjects which he has not had space to treat in detail, or on which there is controversy. The author has clearly stated his own conclusions and takes the responsibility for them, and he therefore does not refer simply to authorities who agree with him: in the references other points of view will be found represented.

One class exercise which will be much facilitated by the references is the graphic representation of sociological results

in maps and charts, which may be made on a large scale for class use. Coördinate charts are easy to make and to understand; and by using the smaller or larger outline maps, of which several series are now published, such subjects as the distribution of property or wealth, the number of institutions of learning, etc., may be represented to the eye.

SMALL REFERENCE LIBRARY.

The tendency of modern teaching is to make the text-book a backbone to which shall be attached knowledge gained from other sources; and in sociology it is especially important that students shall have access to and shall read other discussions. There is no extensive general bibliography of the whole field of sociology. Besides the classified lists which appear throughout this volume a select classified bibliography of books and articles may be found in Gidding's *Elements of Sociology*, pp. 423–442; in Bowker and Iles' *Reader's Guide*; and especially in the admirable *List of Books on Social Reform*, issued by the Boston Public Library, and sold for five cents: the collection to which it refers is very full; it does not include magazine articles, but they may be reached through Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature*, with supplements. In Brookings and Ringwalt's *Briefs for Debates* are about twenty-five analytic briefs on sociological subjects, with references on specific arguments. In *Municipal Affairs*, No. 1, is a classified bibliography of books and articles on sociological reform in cities; this excellent bibliography is international in scope, and is continued in each issue of the magazine by inserting accumulated titles. There is no systematic printed discussion of the teaching of sociology; but information on kindred topics may be found in the report of the Madison Conference, printed in the *Report of the Committee* [of Ten] *on Secondary School Studies*, 1893; and in James Laurence Laughlin's *The Study of Political Economy*. Some other brief but serviceable bibliographies are mentioned below, § 1.

The sociological books most useful for a library collateral to this work are the following: —

Blackmar, Frank W. *The Study of History and Sociology.*

[Boston Public Library.] *A List of Books on Social Reform in the Public Library of the City of Boston.* Boston, 1898. pp. 58. (Also in *Bulletins of the Boston Public Library.* May, June, 1898. pp. 159–183, 205–228.)

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Stuckenberg, John Henry Wilburn. *Introduction to the Study of Sociology.* New York, 1898.

Ward, Lester Frank. *Outlines of Sociology.* New York, etc., 1898. pp. xii, 301.

LARGER SOCIOLOGICAL LIBRARY.

For reference, and especially for the needs of large classes and of classes in which the subject is to be carefully studied, the following secondary books will be found especially useful. Books in foreign languages are not included (unless in translation), but they may easily be found through the bibliographies. Many of them are written by persons familiar by experience at first hand with the conditions which they describe, and are therefore sources. Some additional titles may also be found in the bibliographies at the heads of the chapters below.

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SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON SOCIOLOGY.

Throughout the work the author has made constant reference to official and unofficial collections of ultimate material; and it will probably be found an excellent exercise in any class to have each student carefully study at least one subject from such material, in order to familiarise himself with the methods of ascertaining the truth upon contested points. Detailed discussion of the government publications will be found in Carroll D. Wright's *Contributions of the United States Government to Social Science*. E. C. Lunt's *Key to the Publications of the United States Census* is a carefully classified guide to the special tables and discussions in all the publications of the census from 1790 through 1880. The census volumes and the various reports of the government bureaus, especially those of the Department of Labour, of which Colonel Wright is Commissioner, may usually be had by schools and investigators through the senators from their States or the members of Congress from their districts. The twelfth census, of 1900, will be thus distributed.

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Outline of Practical Sociology.

The larger social phenomena — those which interest the speculative philosopher, and with which sociology has dealt successfully, are phenomena of social aggregates, or masses of men regarded as single bodies; the smaller phenomena — those which interest the practical man, and with which sociology has dealt unsuccessfully — are essentially the phenomena not of social aggregates, but of various parts of aggregates.

W. H. Mallock: *Aristocracy and Evolution*, p. 14.

Outline of Practical Sociology.

Part I.

The Basis of Practical Sociology.

CHAPTER I.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCIENCE OF SOCIAL RELATION.

1. References.

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2. The Science of Social Relation.

The science of social relation is really the science of the institutions which enable society to perform its infinitely varied functions. Every feature of society which comprehends the

action of a group of individual units represents an institution; and this is true without regard to the theory which may be adopted to account for the origin and development of society itself; for whatever that origin, the family, the tribe, the nation, and any intermediate organisations having the purpose of regulation, government, or defence, are all institutions created by individuals in their relations to each other.

The science which has been called sociology comprehends the study of the origin and development of these institutions, and as a study it must have existed since the intelligence of man was developed to such an extent as to inspire him with the desire to account for his origin and for the institutions with which he finds himself surrounded. The attempt to account for human environment has ever been an attractive study, and many theories have been put forward as a basis for establishing a connected and logical system. Sociology embraces the study of society in the entire range of its history; it is therefore a more comprehensive word than social science. We speak of "the social sciences," meaning thereby history, jurisprudence, political economy, criminology, penology, and various other departments of knowledge relating to social conditions; but we cannot say "sociologies," for sociology is a concrete term, comprehending all the social sciences and every other phase of knowledge which relates to society in its organisation and its functions.

To make clear the origin and purpose of society, sociologists have sought to establish suggestive analogies, the most plausible till recent times being the biological analogy, under which society is regarded as a growth like the cellular expansion of organised plants and animals; so that society was looked upon as having life, in the broadest sense, — that is, not merely human and animal life, but organised existence. It was very natural that men should adopt this biological or materialistic theory for the origin and development of society; but it did not meet the conditions; hence the attempt has been made to find other bases or explanations of society; and in this

attempt, feeling, desire, and aspiration have been recognised as inherent and potent factors in the science.

Just how the organisation of society first became conscious of itself is also a moot question. Perhaps next after the creation of the units or individuals which make up the integral members of society the family appeared as the first form of institutional construction; perhaps tribal or even more highly developed institutions may have preceded the family in the order of time. The institutions of savage tribes show that in some cases when individuals become attracted to each other from any motive whatever, they seek organisation for purposes of defence or otherwise, and live in this condition for centuries and ages before the male and female are so firmly attracted through psychic forces as to constitute the family. Until the idea of the supremacy of the family institution is firmly fixed, the children are in such cases the wards of the tribe or community. Even at the present time, as all through the historical development of nations, there is still a strong effort visible to bring the children under community influences and to lessen or even to destroy the control of the family. Nor can it be safely said that the tribe is the earliest form of society; there may have been great aggregations of individuals conforming to some crude methods of organisation even before the specific institution of tribes. The objections to the biological or materialistic theory of a gradual development from individuals to families, thence to tribes, and thence to higher forms, have led most sociologists to prefer a psychological explanation of the process under which society has been developed.

The word "sociology" occurs for the first time in the work of Auguste Comte, entitled "Cours de Philosophie Positive," which was published in 1842. Since that time there have been very many students and writers of the philosophy which he advanced and formulated, and there has been under them a constant development not only in the theory underlying the organisation of society, but in the treat-

ment of social relations. Under this development the claim that society is an organism on the biological analogy is not now generally admitted to be sound; for if an organism society must have something in it other than the ethical and social relations of men; it would possess parts and functions independent of human relations. Hence in the more modern theory, the actual conditions of human nature, of human wants and aspirations, are allotted more power in shaping the explanation of society than the restricted idea that society is of itself a self-shaping organism. It is now asserted, and generally conceded, that it is the recognition of the "psyche," or soul, which gives the truest understanding or even interpretation of sociological phenomena. We may recognise all the advantages which come from the comparison of the growth of society through the materialistic theory; we may accept the aid it gives in the adjustment and classification of facts; but the conception of organic growth does not give us full enough insight into the real forces which make society what it is, nor furnish us a sufficient understanding of the forces which made it in the beginning. We must recognise human thoughts and feelings as well as the propensities which serve to bring individual units into institutional relations.

A brief statement of the point of view of some of the modern writers will perhaps bring out the contrast between the old sociology and the new. The French writer, Professor Gabriel Tarde, finds the motive at the basis of all human organisations in the imitative tendency, the desire of men to be like each other. In "The Philosophy of History," by Dr. George Simmel, of Berlin, the biological analogy is left out of consideration, and the assumption is made that psychology is the *a priori* of historical science, or that the power which has brought men into combination with each other in the varied forms of institutional life is to be found in the psychical nature of man. In our own country, Professor Lester F. Ward insists that psychology and not biology offers the true explanation of human society, and that the motive force

which impels men to social institution is found in the feelings of men taken collectively and in the intuitive faculty; the effective agent of social action, according to Professor Ward, resides in the feelings, and Professor F. H. Giddings reaches the conclusion that the motive which draws men together is the "consciousness of kind," — the feeling which men have that they are one in nature with each other and of the same kin. Another writer, Professor J. M. Baldwin, follows the same line, only he develops the psychical analogy to still greater degree. All these assumptions, which undoubtedly go farthest to account for society, can be stated in the old axiom that "men who think alike will act together."

The authorities just mentioned and many others are developing the real science of society, for they recognise far more than did the earlier writers the real human side, consisting of feeling, thought, aspiration, religious emotion, — everything, in fact, which can by any expansion of terms constitute the purest ethics. These considerations make it exceedingly difficult to define in plain terms the word "sociology," or to give exactly its comprehensive scope. "Sociology" will not reach the perfect scientific formula so long as able and conscientious students and writers fail to agree as to the fundamental truths underlying the science; they are beginning to agree, but even in their definitions this much may be accepted, that although animals mate and are gregarious in their habits, they have no institutions. It is not until the highly developed animal, man, appears, with heart and soul, or those attributes which may be called spiritual, that organisation is resorted to as the expression of the social instincts. It is in this thought that the true province of sociology lies. As a result of critical study, it will appear eventually that many of the problems which vex us now are but the results of evolutionary processes in the formation of society; that they are not the beginnings of more serious problems, but present phases of questions that have existed from the foundation of society. All the facts to be gathered from the history of man, covering his experiences

in the varied complications of life and under an infinite variety of conditions, are necessary in order to arrive at complete and scientific conclusions. Such conclusions will be the more speedily reached through the present recognition of the psychic forces as the fundamental basis of society.

3. Practical Sociology.

These considerations relative to the development of the science of social relation call for some explanation as to the use of the term "practical sociology." Sociology, — broadly speaking, and without any attempt at specific definition, — being the science of society, must comprehend all society and society for all time, for it undertakes to explain the origin and growth and condition of human institutions. Any treatment of the subject would be "practical" which dealt with things as they are, but the term may with propriety be applied especially to such a book as this, which undertakes to consider only the status of present-day conditions, without attempting to show how far they may be the result of the development or evolution of many previous conditions, and without attempting to show all their relations to the general subject of sociology. The word "practical" is not chosen as in contradistinction to "impractical," but to make clear that the book deals with actual, pressing social questions, which may be understood, even though the science of sociology be still uncertain. To be sure, the study of sociology as a science must include all the questions considered in this work, but it must include also systems of classification and analyses which "practical sociology" may avoid by dealing with indisputable facts and conditions which in a scientific treatise of sociology would be only illustrations. Were the science much further developed than it now is, there would perhaps still be a place for a discussion which avoids technical terms and philosophical analysis. One may know that filthy streets are demoralising without being absolutely certain as to the nature of the state.

4. Spirit of Sociological Inquiry.

The student of social science depends for his data upon three general sources, — first, the results of personal observation, whether made by himself or others; second, the systematic works on sociology, political economy, history, law, government, etc.; and, third, the records of official transactions and of investigations into conditions conducted under governmental authority or by private individuals. The *bête noire* of sociology is insufficient information. If social science is to be anything more than a fad with the student, he must be habitually sceptical of all statements which bear upon the relations of men, and from which he hopes to deduce some law or establish beyond controversy the cause of some existing condition. He must know the opportunities, the carefulness, the honesty, and the freedom from prejudice of the observer. If the investigator be really scientific in his methods of study, he cares not so much to be pleased by what the results may bring out, as to feel assured that the showing is accurate; he is ready at all times to recast his opinions, to modify his reasoning, and even to turn his mind into new channels of thought, whenever the facts indicate that such changes should be made; his face is always turned to the light.

Hence the true sociologist is more fond of the inductive than of the deductive method of reasoning; he is also the friend of the historical school, and welcomes every endeavour of societies and of organised government to secure accurate and sufficient data bearing on the questions which interest him. So he welcomes with enthusiasm the efforts of governments everywhere to report the facts relative to the conditions of the people, their numbers, their habits, their business interests, their moral, economic, and social relations, — everything, in fact, which grows out of the relations of men to each other and to society. He does not insist that governments or individuals shall have his pet motives for ascertaining and presenting facts; for instance, government, for the purposes

of revenue legislation, may ascertain the facts relative to the manufacture and sale of intoxicants, with no reference whatever to the bearing of the results of the inquiry upon the moral and social welfare of the members of a community. If the truth is ascertained, social science is satisfied, and can use the facts presented by the government in every relation to which they apply.

The student of social science cannot be a partisan; he must accept conclusions which are proved. He may advocate reforms, he may insist upon changes in legislation, upon the adoption of new systems of finance or commerce, but he does all this because to his mind the ascertained facts lead to his conclusions; until these facts are completely overturned he will adhere and must adhere to his position; yet he knows well that all statistical statements are subject to error and may be imperfectly analysed, and that the results of any governmental inquiry are open to the charge of inadequacy, even when the integrity of the inquiry cannot be questioned. He uses the results of statistical inquiry because that is material of scientific value, and because he recognises with the German Schlosser, that "statistics is history ever advancing," and that if he wishes to grow with advancing history and keep himself fully and thoroughly informed of progress in every direction, he must use the statistical or historical method. The farther advanced the student of social science may be, the better able he will be to use statistical results critically and with such a power of analysis as may enable him at once to see the relations of facts and to accept the true and reject the false. This makes the social scientist an interested observer of what government or private enterprise may do in the way of making contributions in his favourite field.

The question is often asked, What right has the government to collect facts other than those absolutely essential for intelligent legislation and the proper administration of laws? The answer is evident. The education of the masses in the elementary facts of political and economic science is one of

the greatest educational ends of the day. The whole effort of government, therefore, to put the people in the possession of facts concerning all their conditions in life, so far as the same may be subject to official inquiry, belongs to the educational work of the people. It is the mission of government to secure that information which is essential for the proper understanding of industrial and social conditions. This feature of educational work cannot be done by the schools, nor by individuals. It must be done, if done at all, by the government; and the government of the United States finds its duty under the Constitution to put the public in the possession of certain lines of information. The general welfare and the blessings of liberty for which the Constitution was framed can neither be secured nor promoted without an intelligent understanding of all the conditions surrounding life.

In obedience to this lofty sentiment, the framers of the Constitution further provided for a periodical census, the first provision of its kind in any country; they thus led the way in all civilised countries for the systematic collection of facts from which the study of the relations of men could be intelligently made. It was part of the vast machinery of government established for the purpose of enabling the nation to carry out the injunction "Know thyself," which should be applied to communities as well as to individuals; and it was recognised by the founders of our own government that it is only through rigid, impartial, and fearless investigation that any community can know itself in the many directions in which knowledge is to be obtained. At the outset, therefore, one must know something of the great collections of material upon which just opinions may be founded; and among them the national census, the other national publications, state documents, and the original work of individuals.

5. The National Census.

There had been, prior to the adoption of the Constitution in 1789, various colonial and local censuses, and foreign coun-

tries had made enumerations at irregular intervals, so that the framers of the Constitution must be presumed to have been familiar with the benefits of census-taking. Commencing with 1790, the United States has made regular decennial enumerations of the population, and, beginning with the year 1850, has conducted what may be properly called a national census, comprehending many features beyond the mere enumeration of the inhabitants.

While the Constitution contained the germ of the census in its modern proportions, the men who framed it and who were first called upon to carry its provisions into effect comprehended the necessity of immediately expanding the germ, and the pace which they set has been accelerated to a speed which has sometimes been criticised.

In studying the nature, the value, and the extent of the contributions of the Federal Government to social science, one turns naturally to the efforts of the first Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton. His report on manufactures, taking the conditions and the means of collecting the facts relating to them into consideration, is a masterpiece of official investigation. Its value was of vast importance at the time it was made, but its value is a continuing one. Every student of economic relations, or of the condition of labour, or of the progress of manufactures, or of the development of industrial interests, must make liberal use of this report. It was one of a most valuable series of reports made by Mr. Hamilton, the others relating to the public credit of the United States, the national bank and coinage.

The scope of the census has been broadened gradually from a few inquiries, chiefly numerical, made at the first census in 1790 to the present encyclopædic proportions. The reports of the tenth census (1880) embody 22, those of the eleventh 25 quarto volumes. These reports cover the statistics of population; manufactures, agriculture, and irrigation; wealth, debt, and taxation; farms, homes, and mortgages; mineral resources; transportation; insurance; vital statistics; the

statistics of crime, pauperism, and benevolence; fish and fisheries; educational and church statistics, social statistics, and facts relating to the Indians.

The census takes cognisance, as a rule, of those things which can be counted and summarised into aggregations. It does not seek to make investigation relative to conditions not ascertainable in this manner, nor does it seek to furnish the results of constant actions, or a record of the business transactions of any governmental office. It counts the people, and while counting them it ascertains all the characteristics as to age, sex, conjugal condition, nativity, occupation, and physical and mental conditions. For this purpose it has expanded the population schedules from six inquiries made at the first census to twenty-six made at the last. It counts the number of manufactures of all kinds and grades; it aggregates the capital employed in all industries, and, in fact, enumerates, by counting, the instrumentalities by which the various enterprises of the country are carried on; but it is emphatically a system of counting, and the census gives the results of the count. It is an account of stock in the true sense.

6. Other National Collections of Sociological Material.

Closely allied to this method of ascertaining facts is another illustrated by the operations of the Treasury Department. This department has the execution of laws relating to commerce and the finances. Its transactions, therefore, become important, and the results are most valuable contributions to social science. Through this department we learn the course of immigration; the character, quantity, and value of imports and exports; the financial condition of the country; all facts relative to the currency, including the operation of the mints, the condition of coinage, and the value of foreign coins in American money; the revenues and expenditures of the government; how the revenues are obtained, and the classification of the expenditures; quantity and value of articles manufactured under the internal revenue laws, like liquors and

proprietary medicines, — everything, in fact, relating to the financial condition of the country.

The publications of the Treasury Department bearing upon social questions are chiefly statistical in their character, and from what has been said it is easily seen that they can be divided into two classes relating, first, to finance, and, second, to commerce, navigation, and immigration.

One would hardly look for contributions to social science under the work of the Department of State; yet, although its work relates more to historical than to social questions, many of its publications are among the most important general contributions in the latter field; but whatever it has done in the way of historical publications is in the interest of social science, as history constitutes one of its most important branches. Some of the most important of the regular reports of the Department of State are those of its Bureau of Statistics, now the Bureau of Foreign Commerce, which was organised in 1856; though for the most part its contributions relate to commercial and industrial matters, social questions, such as wages, prices, cost of living, workingmen's houses, etc., receive frequent attention. In the Consular Reports also are to be found many studies of economic and social conditions in foreign countries, compared with those of the United States.

The chief contributions of the Department of the Interior to social science, other than those of the census, have been made through the Bureau of Education, which publishes an annual report, special reports, circulars of information, and miscellaneous documents. The annual reports contain the statistics of the schools, colleges, and other institutions of learning in the United States. The special reports are exceedingly valuable, both from an educational point of view, relating simply to school or college work, and in a wider sense. Among the chief special publications are those on art in industry, criminology, etc. The circulars of information embrace among their number two regular series, — first, reports of the proceedings of the Department of Superintendence of the National Educational

Association; second, the history of higher education in the United States.

Information as to the settlement of lands, an important feature of social science, is obtainable through the publications of the General Land Office. The regular annual report of the Commissioner furnishes current information as to sales, settlements, and quantities of land still unassigned, while in special reports information as to laws relating to the settlement of lands may be found, together with the whole history of the land system of the government public lands, condition of the national domain, and everything relating to the action of government in settling the vast territory belonging to the people.

Through the publications of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs much most valuable ethnological information can be secured. The transactions of the government with the Indians, as currently reported by the Commissioner, give the necessary information as to the relations of the Federal government to the Indian tribes, while various other documents emanating from the Indian office are of exceedingly great value in studying so interesting a question.

The Geological Survey makes most important contributions relating to the mineral resources of the country, irrigation, and other information bearing upon the development of the country. The results of the researches of this office are published in annual and special reports.

The annual reports of the United States Patent Office furnish information of the progress of invention, and from them the business of the office can be readily understood.

The Department of Agriculture is the chief publishing branch of the United States government. The extent of its operations as a publisher may be seen from the last annual report of the Chief of the Division of Records and Editing. During the fiscal year 1893 94, the department issued 205 separate publications, embracing 10,512 pages of printed matter. There were 3,169,310 copies of these publications printed. The

great majority of these publications relate to the technical details of agriculture or the scientific aspects of agricultural problems. The publications of its good roads, forestry, and statistical divisions are, however, of great interest, and are positive and valuable contributions to social science. Its statistical work is of especial value for subjects treated in this volume. The reports of the statistical bureau include monthly statistical reports, giving a survey of the condition of crops, and special statistical papers on such subjects as freight rates, the production of farm products in foreign countries, etc.; monthly crop synopses, being summaries of the conditions, prospects, yield, price, distribution, and consumption of crops, and the number and value of farm animals. This little publication is issued in advance of the monthly statistical reports in order that prompt information may be given to the public. The miscellaneous series includes special contributions on particular subjects. In addition to this, the statistician of the department makes a special report showing, among other things, wages, prices of agricultural products, freight rates, etc. The department has also brought out some valuable specific reports relative to the diseases of the horse, treatment of cattle, and various subjects not only of interest to the farmer himself, but to those who are studying the progress of science in the treatment of crops and of animals. Most of the work of this institution is of a purely scientific nature, but in its publications much information of value to social science is to be found.

No more important contributions have been made under government auspices than those of the Bureau of Ethnology. Striking at the very roots of social science itself, by reporting upon the conditions of tribes and peoples, it must take first rank in the estimation of social scientists. It publishes annual reports and reprints of special papers. Its volumes are bulky; they are thoroughly illustrated, and are scientific discussions of ethnological topics.

The reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission come strictly under the range of sociology, so far as statistics of rail-

roads are concerned. They have been published regularly since 1888, and they furnish the most trustworthy information relative to the conditions of railroad transportation that can be obtained.

The contributions of the Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries relate directly to the study of social science, as they belong to the food question. The investigations of the commission relate to food fishes and to the methods of propagating them, and the reports show the results of the inquiries as well as the efforts of the commission to increase the supply of fish in the various parts of the country. It is in the practical line of the work established by government so many years ago, when it sought to do all in its power to aid in the development of the natural resources of the country.

The United States Department of Labour was established especially for the collection and publication of information bearing upon social science, the duties of the department under the law being to acquire and diffuse among the people of the United States useful information on subjects connected with labour, in the most general and comprehensive sense of that word, and especially upon its relation to capital, the hours of labour, the earnings of labouring men and women, and the means of promoting their material, social, intellectual, and moral prosperity. Under this broad authorisation the department has made thirteen annual reports, and in addition has published nine special reports. The Department of Labour is now authorised by law to publish a bulletin, which consists of condensations of foreign and American reports on labour and industrial subjects, results of original inquiry, and any facts or information of value to the social and industrial interests of the country.

The publications just enumerated are those which are most distinctly contributions to social science; but the annual reports of all the departments, — as the Post-Office Department, in dealing with the transmission of intelligence, the Department of Justice in dealing with criminal conditions, — in giving facts

relative to the transactions of the government, are sources for the study of sociology.

There is another body besides these organised offices engaged in making such contributions, the Congress itself. Prior to 1820 the statistical work of the government, apart from that of the decennial census, and those figures given in the annual reports of executive officers, consisted in the purchase of the statistical publications of private parties. In addition to this feature of congressional contribution, there have been many special reports of committees relating to sociological matters that have enlarged the contributions to social science, investigations into conditions of labour, specific labour troubles, immigration, naturalisation, etc., having been among its best work.

7. State and Private Collections of Sociological Material.

In addition to all these valuable works emanating from the Federal government and its various branches, the States have undertaken the collection of an enormous amount of information. Since 1869 thirty-four States have authorised the establishment of bureaus of statistics of labour, for the purpose of collecting facts concerning the social, moral, and industrial welfare of the people. These offices have considered a great variety of subjects, and their reports now consist of nearly three hundred and fifty volumes. All the various bureaus and commissions of the different State governments publish annually or biennially valuable reports on finance, insurance, railroads, charity, prisons, and all the interests to which government now gives so much attention.

The question might be asked, "What is the value of this vast store of information contributed by the various departments of the Federal and State governments?" It is of inestimable value, and as a rule the information is trustworthy. Care is taken to secure only that information which has a positive bearing upon the current problems of the times, and the men engaged in the collection of the information are almost inva-

riably so thoroughly interested in the ascertainment of the truth that their work is free from bias and may be accepted by the scientist as worthy of his use.

From these categorical statements it must be concluded that the Federal and State governments have been most generous in their contributions to social science, and that its study could not be carried on without such contributions. The efforts of private individuals, the results of personal observation, and the collection of facts by travellers and students, all valuable as they are, are entirely inadequate for the discussion of the great social problems of the day. Social science deals with the vital interests and relations of the people themselves. Can government do better than to make its contributions in the future, not simply as generous, as emphatic, and as far-reaching as those in the past, but still more scientific and still more comprehensive?

It is the statistical method that enables government to make its contributions to the study of sociology. A modern method, scientific in its processes, it has enabled the sociologist to get nearer the real relations of the people than he could under any other method. Until this century the student of society was obliged to take his facts from the fragmentary statements of historians, who did not deal so much with the people and their conditions as with governments, administrations, and wars. To-day the statistical method reaches almost every vital point in the social structure, and to its expansion the enlightened study of society is greatly indebted.

All the leading governments of the world publish in great volume data from which conclusions can be drawn. It has been considered sufficient, however, for the present purpose to outline in brief the contributions of our own American governments which can be used in the study of social relation. When it is known that the United States Government alone expends annually about eight million dollars, and employs nearly four thousand persons in scientific work, the value of official contributions will be thoroughly comprehended.

In addition to the Federal census, twenty-seven States and Territories have constitutional or statutory provisions for taking a census more or less complete, and most of them on the quinquennial period between the Federal decennial censuses. These provisions are not always carried out, but the States of Florida, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Wisconsin, Tennessee, and the Territory of Oklahoma have all taken censuses since the Federal census of 1890.

The following States have bureaus of statistics of labour or kindred offices now existing: California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin.

Offices having duties similar to those of the bureaus of statistics of labour in this country are found in foreign countries, the principal ones being the Labour Department, England; Department of Labour, New Zealand; Department of Labour and Industries, New South Wales; Bureau of Labour, France; Bureau of Labour, Belgium; Commission for Labour Statistics, Germany; Department of Agriculture, Industries, and Commerce, Italy; Royal Statistical Bureau, Russia; Bureau of Statistics, Switzerland; Bureau of Statistics, Sweden; Bureau of Labour Statistics, Austria.

Private enterprise has not been lacking in supplying sociological data; its chief effort has been through the publications of societies or associations, such as the Royal Statistical Society of London, the National Association (British) for the Promotion of Social Science, and the statistical societies of Liverpool, Manchester, Paris, Berlin, and other European cities. The publications of these societies offer most valuable contributions for the student of social matters. These con-

tributions are not always of original data, although members of the societies have made investigations at their own expense and contributed the results as a matter of public service.

In this country the American Statistical Association, one of our oldest scientific bodies ; the American Social Science Association ; the American Economic Association, and the American Academy of Political and Social Science, — have all been prolific producers of most valuable material in the study of social and industrial questions. Of late years the scientific bodies as such have added sections to their work in which economic and industrial matters have received attention. This is true of the National Academy of Sciences, the American Academy for the Advancement of Science, and other bodies. Of late, the great international expositions hold congresses before which are brought the contributions of data relating to different countries, and which in any way affect the welfare of the people. This is perhaps the most expansive method which has been adopted for the dissemination of sociological facts.

8. Monographs and Single Studies.

In addition to the sources enumerated there are still others which should command attention. Individual effort, irrespective of the publications of government officers and associations, has added great value to the literature relating to our subject. The results of these efforts are found in monographs and single studies, especially articles contributed to the great magazines and reviews. In looking through the files of the "Edinburgh Review," or the "Quarterly," or the "North American Review," from their inception, the student will find here and there important studies. The editors of all the magazines and reviews conceive it their duty to bring to their pages articles from experts on all phases of social and industrial life. The catalogues of publishers show a great number of monographs, while the indexes of reviews and magazines disclose an enormous mass of sociological work.

Of late years universities and colleges have in a large measure taken to the publication of single papers and series, to which the student can turn with great profit. These studies are of the greatest value, because undertaken by enthusiastic students in the universities, who bestow time and labour in original research along clearly defined lines. As an example of this, the "Johns Hopkins University Studies" may be cited. Other universities publish under their auspices journals of great value, such as the "Quarterly Journal of Economics," at Harvard, and the "Political Science Quarterly," at Columbia, the Yale "Review," and the publications of the University of Chicago. All these publications are really makers of public opinion; they are having an influence beyond estimate, and must be considered as among the sources of sociological data of the highest value. The mere collection, classification, and publication of statistics are supplemented by the philosophical and scientific writers and students, whose works appear as monographs, articles, or single studies in various ways. Taking all the sources that have been suggested in this chapter, the student ought to have little or no difficulty in equipping himself in the study of sociology.

CHAPTER II.

THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

9. References.

United States, *Eleventh Census* (1890), *Report on Population*, Parts I. and II. Specific references are as follows: On total population (§ 10), I. xi, xiii, lxxxvii; on increase by sections (§ 11), I. xxxvii; on distribution by drainage, I. xxxvii; on distribution by altitude (§ 15), I. xlviii; on distribution by rainfall, etc. (§ 16), I. l–liv; Richmond Mayo-Smith, *Statistics and Sociology;* Walter F. Willcox, *Area and Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census*, and *Density and Distribution of Population in the United States at the Eleventh Census* (American Economic Association, *Economic Studies*, XI., Nos. 4 and 6); Henry Gannett, *The Building of a Nation*. Bibliography of the Censuses from 1790 to 1880 in E. C. Lunt, *Key to the Publications of the United States Census* (American Statistical Association, *Publications*, New Series, Nos. 2, 3).

10. Total Population and Rate of Increase.

The first task of the writer in sociology is to put before his readers, as clearly as possible, the conditions under which the social organisation is and must be formed. Social problems have to deal with the complexities of human nature; with the workings of minds actuated by many complicated motives; with developments of beliefs and aims for which no explanatory law can be stated. But it will be easier both to understand these problems and to consider remedies, if we have a clear conception of what the people of the United States are, how they are distributed, and what causes them to come together in those masses which make up our great municipalities. We must know something of the distribution of the population as to numbers, climatic and other natural conditions, nativity, sex, conjugal condition, and families, as to the movement of the population, and as to race distinctions.

The population of the United States[1] June 1, 1890, as ascertained at the Eleventh Census, exclusive of white persons in the Indian Territory, Indians on reservations, and the population of Alaska, was 62,622,250. Later on we shall observe that many social problems arise from the mere numbers of persons with whom governments must deal.

Such problems become more serious as population grows. At the first census, taken in 1790, the population of the United States was 3,929,214.[2] The regularity of increase from 1800 to 1860 is striking, and then the influence of the war and of other elements is shown in the dropping of the percentage

[1] The area and population of the world, according to Hazell's Annual for 1898, are approximately as follows: —

Continent.	Square Miles.	Population.
Europe	3,797,410	381,000,000
Asia	17,039,066	854,000,000
Africa	11,518,084	127,000,000
America	7,952,386	133,270,000
Australia	3,458,029	4,730,000
Total	52,299,431	1,500,000,000

It is calculated that 1,700,000 square miles of the earth's surface are uninhabited or ownerless, 5,000,000 square miles more without settled government, while the remaining 45,000,000 square miles are occupied by definite states, of which there are 75. Of these, however, 18 occupy 87 per cent of the total area.

[2] Population, Increase, and Per Cent of Increase at each Census, 1790 to 1890.

Year.	Population.	Increase.	Per cent of increase.
1790	3,929,214	. . .	. . .
1800	5,308,483	1,379,269	35.10
1810	7,239,881	1,931,398	36.38
1820	9,633,822	2,393,941	33.07
1830	12,866,020	3,232,198	33.55
1840	17,069,453	4,203,433	32.67
1850	23,191,876	6,122,423	35.87
1860	31,443,321	8,251,445	35.58
1870	38,558,371	7,115,050	22.63
1880	50,155,783	11,597,412	30.08
1890	62,622,250	12,466,467	24.86

from 35½ in 1860 to 22⅔ in 1870. With increased industrial and commercial activity, the percentage of increase rose again in 1880 to 30 1/12.

The diminution in the rate of increase between 1880 and 1890 is partly due to the fact that the census of 1870 was grossly deficient in the Southern States, the true population in 1870, as estimated by the officials of the Eleventh Census (1890), being 39,818,449, instead of 38,558,371. Using this corrected figure, the increases for the last three decades would be as follows: —

Years.	Increase.	
	Number.	Per cent.
1860 to 1870	8,375,128	26.64
1870 to 1880	10,337,334	25.96
1880 to 1890	12,466,467	24.86

Sociologically considered, the absolute population is less important than the origin of the people. The relative influence of natives and of immigrants upon the increase of population since the decade 1850–60 can be approximately shown by determining the proportion of the total increase found, respectively, among the native and foreign-born elements of the population as follows: —

Years.	Per cent of Total Increase assignable to Native and Foreign Born.	
	Native Born.	Foreign Born.
1850 to 1860	77.05	22 95
1860 to 1870	82.94	17.06
1870 to 1880	89.24	10.76
1880 to 1890	79.39	20.61

The changes in the proportionate increase or decrease of the native and foreign-born elements of our population at each decade, as shown in the above table, are readily explained when it is considered that for the three decades first named the number of immigrants varied but slightly, while for the last decade their number was very nearly doubled, being 2,598,214 from 1850 to 1860, 2,314,824 from 1860 to 1870, 2,812,191 from 1870 to 1880, and 5,246,613 from 1880 to 1890. The special problems arising out of the presence of foreigners have plainly grown more serious of late years.

11. Rate of Increase by Sections.

As a further basis of a study of sociology in America, it is necessary to know how far this remarkable increase is a general movement through the country, and how far there are accelerating or retarding influences in the different sections, or geographic divisions,[1] or in urban and rural places. The largest proportional increase during the last three decades has been in the Western division, comprising Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, and California. This division grew from under one million to over three millions between 1870 and 1890, but it still numbers only a twentieth of the population of the nation.

[1] Geographical Divisions.	Population.			Increase from 1870 to 1880.		Increase from 1880 to 1890.		Increase from 1870 to 1890.	
	1890.	1880.	1870.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
North Atlantic	12,297,780	14,527,407	17,401,545	1,701,462	16.99	2,208,677	17.96	2,814,138	10.05
South Atlantic	5,854,010	7,597,197	8,857,920	488,907	9.11	1,743,587	29.79	1,256,723	10.50
North Central	12,981,111	17,364,111	22,362,279	3,884,195	42.70	4,383,000	33.76	4,018,168	28.78
South Central	6,431,410	8,019,371	10,072,893	665,752	11.54	2,484,961	38.62	2,054,422	23.02
Western	990,510	1,767,697	3,057,013	371,534	60.02	777,187	78.46	1,250,916	71.27
The United States	38,558,371	50,155,783	62,622,250	7,115,050	22.63	11,597,412	30.08	12,466,467	21.86

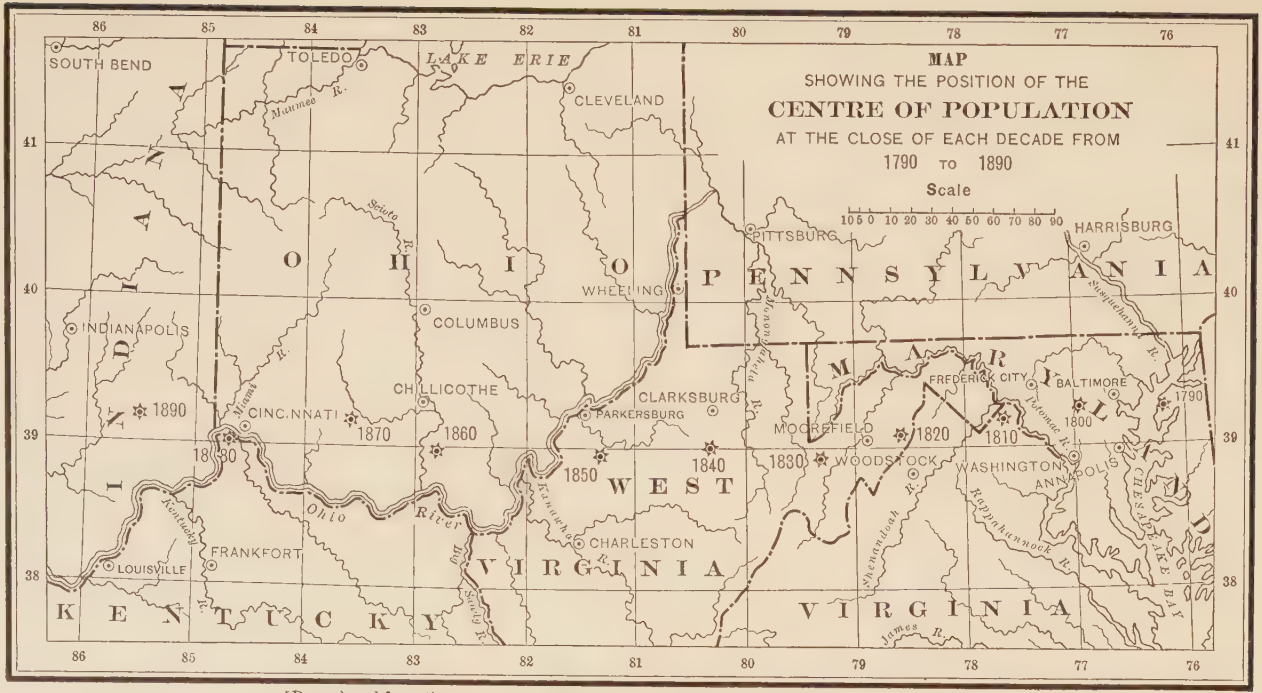
In the Southern States the imperfections of the census of 1870 showed an enumeration probably much less than the real population, when compared with the more accurate census of 1880, hence in the census of 1890 the relative percentage of growth is apparently less; yet, on the whole, the Southern divisions show a relative growth not far below that of the Northern sections.

Nevertheless, the real elements of growth can be understood only by looking deeper into the conditions of smaller units of population during the decade from 1880 to 1890. In four hundred and fifty-five counties there has been an apparent loss of inhabitants, but in many cases this is due to a reduction of territory, so that an actual diminution occurred in only about one hundred and thirty counties, such losses occurring mainly in central parts of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, northern New Jersey, and eastern Virginia, and some localities scattered through Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Tennessee, and Kentucky, and especially in southern Michigan, Wisconsin, and eastern Iowa. The ebb and flow of mining operations have resulted in much change in the totals of mining counties, as in Colorado and some parts of California; and in the State of Nevada, with the exception of two counties, the number of inhabitants has everywhere decreased. The increase, however, in our great western domains has been over seventy per cent; both the Great Plains and the agricultural areas of the far western plateau have felt it. Northern Michigan, western and southern Florida, Arkansas, southern Missouri, and central Texas exhibit a growth that is really phenomenal, and the southern Appalachian region has largely increased its population. In southern New England, as well as in the most of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, commerce and manufactures are firmly established and constitute the leading occupations; hence the people have to a large extent been withdrawn from the country and been grouped in the suburbs of cities and large towns; so the population, which twenty or thirty or perhaps forty years ago did not increase in such localities, is now growing rapidly

under the activity stimulated by profitable occupations. In the central parts of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and New York, where the transition from agriculture to commercial and manufacturing industries is still going on, population does not gain with very great strides. The changes from agriculture to commercial and manufacturing pursuits are indicative always of a transition from a stationary to an actively increasing density of population. This is evident in the upper Mississippi Valley and in Virginia, where the transition is becoming apparent. The areas of the great western plains are being peopled rapidly. This is particularly true in the northern portions. Cheap lands and easy tillage of the virgin soil are making the competition of eastern agriculturists unprofitable, and so the farming population of the far Eastern States is recruiting the territory embracing the rich lands of the West. In Nevada we witness the peculiar spectacle of a loss of population resulting from the low condition of the mining interests.

12. The Centre of Population.

Notwithstanding the large and growing population of the eastern-coast States, the proportionate number of persons in the West has constantly increased. This is well illustrated by the calculations of the Census Office, showing the centre of population. Referring to the diagram on the opposite page, it will be seen that while the northern and southern divisions have shifted little in a century, the progress of growth having been along the 39th parallel of latitude, the rapid growth of the West has carried the midway point from a spot near Baltimore in 1790 to one in southern Indiana, 505 miles westward, in 1890. This indicates, first, the additions of western territory from 1803 to 1853, and, second, the slow filling up of the Mississippi Valley. The average movement of each decade has been 55½ miles. Whether the progress west of this latter point will continue, or whether there will be a greater variation north or south of the old line of advance, will depend very largely upon industrial developments, although it



[Reproduced from the report of the Eleventh U. S. Census, for Outline of Practical Sociology.]

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cannot be expected that the westward advance will be as rapid in the future as it has been in the past. There will be a retarding tendency superinduced by the commercial interests of the eastern coast, which tendency will not be altogether offset by the filling up of the western coast.

13. Distribution by Drainage.

Political boundaries do not always include a group of persons all living under the same natural conditions. A juster idea of the actual natural groups of population may be had by considering how they fall within the three great natural drainage basins, — the Atlantic Slope, the Great Basin, and the Pacific Slope. Under the first great division, that of the Atlantic Ocean, as a primary designation, are the subordinate divisions of the New England coast, the Middle Atlantic coast, the South Atlantic coast, the Great Lakes, and the Gulf of Mexico. The Great Basin, for subdivisions, has Great Salt Lake and the Humboldt River. The Pacific Ocean basin consists, secondarily, of the Colorado River, the Sacramento River, the Klamath River, and the Columbia River, and their several great tributaries. The percentage of the total population, distributed over these drainage areas or basins, at the last three censuses, has been as follows : —

Divisions.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Atlantic Ocean	97.8	97.1	96.2
New England Coast	8.5	7.6	7.2
Middle Atlantic Coast	20.8	19.2	18.3
South Atlantic Coast	7.3	7.4	6.8
Great Lakes	11.0	10.7	11.2
Gulf of Mexico	50.2	52.2	52.7
Great Basin	0.3	0.4	0.4
Pacific Ocean	1.9	2.5	3.4

More than ninety-six per cent of the inhabitants live in the country which is drained into the Atlantic Ocean; more than one-half of the population live in the region drained into the Gulf of Mexico, and of these four-fifths (nearly forty-four per cent of the entire population of the country) are congregated in the drainage area of the Mississippi River; only one two-hundredth live in the Great Basin, and about one thirty-third on the Pacific coast. The table shows further that while the proportion of the American people living within the region drained directly into the Atlantic is steadily diminishing, the part drained into the Gulf of Mexico is becoming relatively more populous.

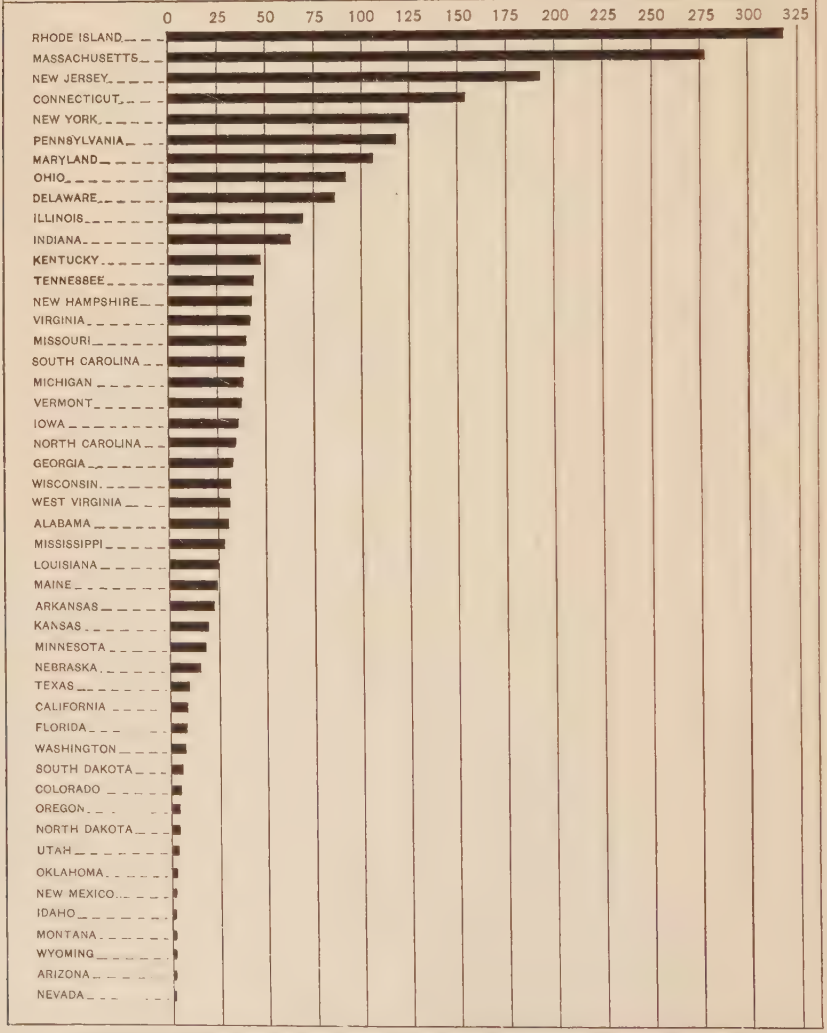
14. Distribution by Natural Features.

Another point of view is gained from a still more detailed subdivision according to natural features; it is illustrated by a short table which has been condensed from the reports of the Eleventh Census: —

Regions.	Density of Population to the Square Mile.		
	1870.	1880.	1890.
Coast Swamps	15.1	18.4	21.2
Atlantic Plain	47.4	60.8	75.1
Piedmont Region	45.8	55.8	65.8
New England Hills	35.4	38.6	40.7
Appalachian Mountain Region	34.3	41.7	49.8
Cumberland-Alleghany Plateau	40.7	49.4	59.3
Interior Timbered Region	31.3	38.8	44 3
Lake Region	12.1	17.6	25 1
Ozark Mountain Region	10.3	16.0	22.8
Alluvial Region of the Mississippi	12.2	18.2	23.6
Prairie Region	14.8	21.6	28.8
Great Plains	0.1	0 5	1.5
North Rocky Mountains	0.2	0.4	1.1
South Rocky Mountains	0.7	1.6	2.1
Plateau Region	0.2	0.5	0.7
Basin Region	0.5	0.9	1.4
Columbian Mesas	0.2	0.8	1.9
Sierra Nevada	3.7	4.6	4.9
Pacific Valley	3.5	5.2	9.1
Cascade Range	0.9	1.7	5.5
Coast Ranges	5.8	9.8	14.3

NUMBER OF INHABITANTS TO THE SQUARE MILE, BY STATES AND TERRITORIES, 1890.

NOTE:—This diagram does not include the District of Columbia, which had 3,839.87 inhabitants to the square mile in 1890.



[Reproduced from the report of the Eleventh U. S. Census, for Outline of Practical Sociology.]

The greatest density, as shown by the above table, is found in the Atlantic Plain, and the lowest density in the Western Plateau region. About one twenty-fifth of the entire population of the country is to be found in the coast swamps area and the alluvial region of the Mississippi River; this population consists mainly of the coloured race. About one-fiftieth of the entire population is found in the desert and semi-desert regions of the country, and one-fortieth in the West, while about one-sixth of the entire population is to be found in the Eastern mountain region. The diagram opposite shows the same phenomena in a comparison of States.

15. Distribution by Altitude.

Another division of the population of much importance sociologically is by altitude above the sea-level, since elevation much affects the conditions of health and productive activity. More than three-fourths of the population live below 1,000 feet above the level of the sea, and only about one one-hundredth are found above 5,000 feet, even though the fertile plains of the Rocky Mountains and much of the region below the Rockies and the Sierras are above that height. Very few people permanently reside as high as 6,000 feet above the sea; on the other hand, one-sixth of the people live less than 100 feet above the sea-level, along the seaboard, and in the swamp and level regions of the South. From 100 feet to about 1,000 we find the greater part of the population. Between 2,000 and 2,500 feet above the level of the sea are many communities on the slope of the Great Western plains. From 2,500 to 4,000 feet of altitude the country is rather barren and sterile, but from 4,000 and 5,000 feet above the sea, and more especially between 5,000 and 6,000 feet, the population is much greater. This state of things is attributed to the fact that the densest settlement at high altitudes in the Western mountain region is at the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains and in the valleys about Great Salt Lake, which regions lie between 4,000 and 6,000 feet elevation. The mining operations above 6,000

feet, being restricted to the mountain region, largely located in Colorado, New Mexico, Nevada, and California, account for the existence of the population at the altitude of 6,000 feet and more.

The population of the country is increasing numerically in all altitudes, but the relative movement is toward the region of greater altitudes, and is more clearly perceptible in the regions lying between 1,000 and 6,000 feet above the sea. The population is densest along the seaboard, the narrow strip containing our great seaports, as might be supposed; but the density diminishes, not only gradually but quite uniformly, up to 2,000 feet, when sparsity of population is the rule.

16. Distribution by Rainfall, Temperature, and Humidity.

The distribution of the population relative to mean annual rainfall indicates not only the tendency of people to seek arable lands, but their condition as to general healthfulness. The average annual rainfall in this country is 29.6 inches, but the variations range from zero to perhaps 125 inches. Gauging the distribution of the population in accordance with the average annual rainfall in different localities, some interesting points are observable, not only as to the number of inhabitants in the areas calculated, but as to the density of population. The greater proportion of the people of the United States — practically three-fourths — are living in the regions in which the annual rainfall is between 30 and 50 inches; as the rainfall increases or diminishes, the population diminishes rapidly. The density of population in regions where the average rainfall is between 30 and 40 inches is 43.2 per square mile, and is rapidly increasing; in regions where it is from 40 to 50 inches annually the density is 59.1 per square mile; in regions where the rainfall is from 50 to 60 inches annually the density is 25.2, and in the arid regions of the West (two-fifths of the entire area of the country), where the rainfall is less than 20 inches, less than 3 per cent of the population finds its

home; for large areas of the land are not tillable, except by expensive and difficult irrigation.

Many of the conditions of life and industrial activity are affected by temperature. The mean annual temperature in the United States (not including Alaska) is 53°, and the greatest density of population, as might be expected, is found in those regions where the average ranges from 50° to 55°. Either side of this range the density of population rapidly diminishes, just as it decreases rapidly outside the average rainfall between 30 and 50 inches. More than one-half of the entire population of the country live in an average temperature not lower than 45° or higher than 55°, and about one-fourth of the inhabitants come within the limits of 45° and 60°. Where the temperature reaches 70° on the average, but a little over one one-hundredth of the population finds a home, and the number living under a mean annual temperature above 75° is too trifling for consideration. These facts show the indisposition of Americans to seek tropical climates, even within their own boundaries.

Of course, the influences which combine to control the growth of any one section or community are very complicated, but an important measure of the comfort and healthfulness of a region is the relative humidity of the atmosphere, by which is understood the amount of moisture contained in it in proportion to the amount required to saturate it. This amount varies with the temperature; the higher the temperature the greater the amount of moisture which it is capable of holding. Since climate has very great influence upon certain classes of diseases, particularly pulmonary and throat complaints, the question of the distribution of population in accordance with mean relative humidity becomes important.

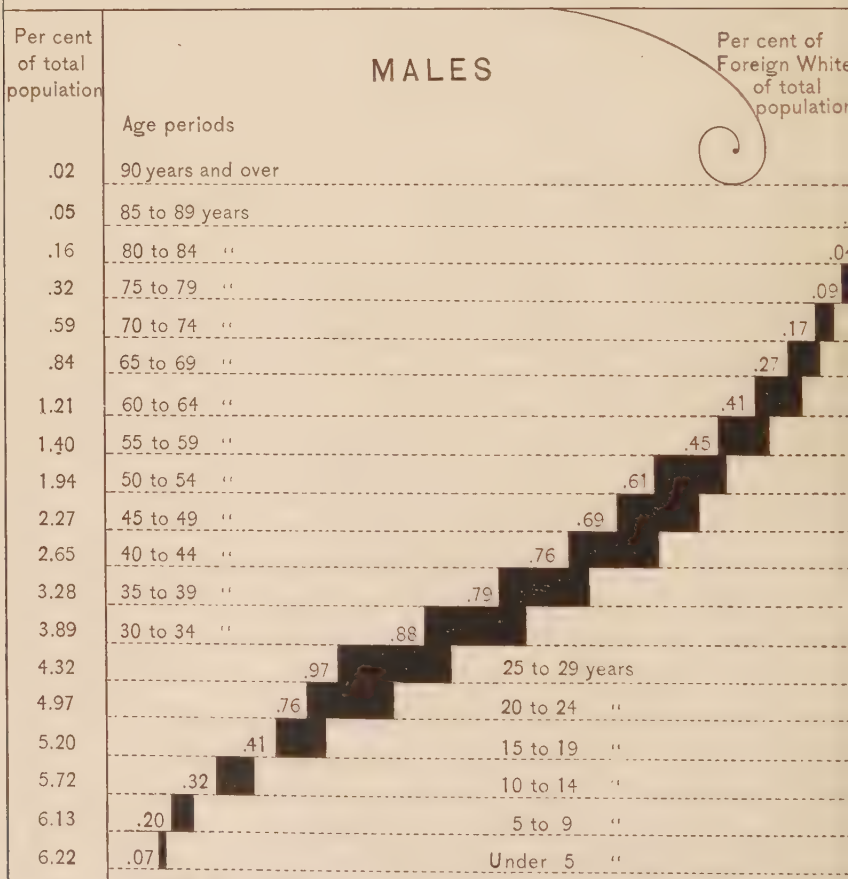
The atmosphere is heavily charged with moisture in those regions which lie along our coast, whether ocean, gulf, or lake. The Appalachian Mountain regions, and largely those of the Rocky Mountains, have an atmosphere heavily charged; but in the Piedmont region, east of the Appalachian, and in

the upper Mississippi Valley, the moisture is less, while it diminishes still more on the prairies and the Great Plains; and in Utah, Nevada, southern Arizona, and southeastern California, the minimum amount is reached. On the coast of Oregon and Washington the atmosphere is more highly charged with moisture than anywhere else within our territory. The humidity is not at all in the same proportion as the rainfall; throughout the upper lake region, while the atmosphere is as moist as that of the State of Washington, the rainfall is much less, and the coast of southern California has as moist an atmosphere as the Atlantic coast, but a deficient rainfall.

Nearly all the population breathe an atmosphere containing 65 to 75 per cent of its full capacity of moisture: that is, the atmosphere is from two-thirds to three-fourths saturated. In 1890, 57,036,000 out of 62,622,250 were found under these conditions. The number of inhabitants living in a drier atmosphere was comparatively trifling, numbering in 1890 less than two millions. In the moister atmosphere were found larger numbers scattered along the Gulf coast and the shores of Washington and Oregon. The most rapid increase has been found at the top and bottom of the scale, and particularly in the more arid region, where the population has nearly doubled during each of the last two periods, showing that great areas that are not particularly favoured by the elements are gradually being redeemed through the enterprise that marks our modern industrial era.

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF TH

BY SEX AND QUINQUENNIAL AGE PERIODS; TH



NOTE:—In computing the percentages the number of unknown age (162,165) has been deducted from the total population.

TAL POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

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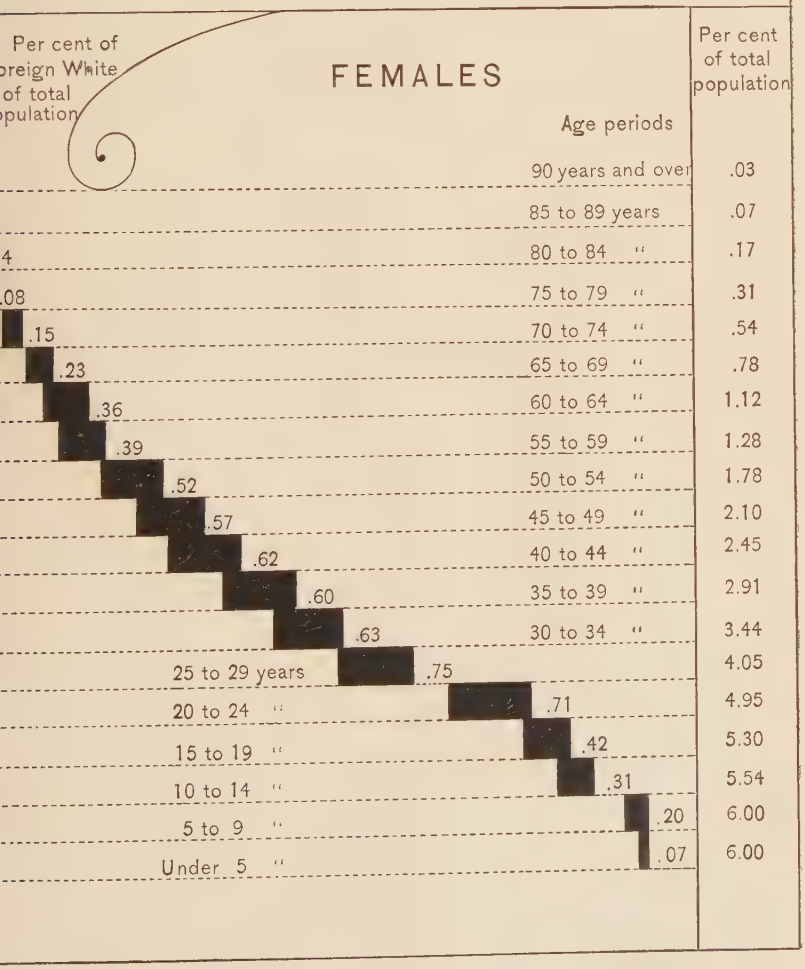


CHAPTER III.

THE STATUS OF THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

17. References.

Same as preceding chapter. Interesting diagrams and maps are to be found in the *Ninth Census* (1870), *Tenth Census* (1880), and *Eleventh Census* (1890), in the volumes on Population. The pyramid diagram opposite has been drawn especially for this work. The source from which most of the statistics in this chapter come is the *Eleventh Census, Report on Population*, the specific references being as follows: on the sexes, I. lxxi, lxxiv; on ages, I. clxxvi, clxxvii, clxxviii; II. xv, lxxi; on families, I. clxxxviii; on dwellings, I. clxxxix, cxci, cxcii, cxciii.

18. The Proportions of the Sexes.

We have now to consider how population in the United States is divided between the sexes, what are the numbers of children and young people in comparison with adults, the potential voting and fighting groups and the grouping into families.

Of the aggregate population June 1, 1890 (62,622,250), there were 32,067,880 males and 30,554,370 females, an excess of 1,513,510 males; that is, the males constituted 51.21 per cent and the females 48.79 per cent of the total population. This has been about the proportion for many decades, but it is a proportion peculiar to the United States, for in most other countries these percentages are practically reversed. The excess of males in the United States is due largely to immigration. Where there is little or no interference in the natural increase, either by immigration or emigration, wars or other abnormal causes, the proportion of the sexes is usually quite equal, even in the United States, females

being slightly in excess of males; but among our immigrants, males are generally in excess of females in the proportion of 3 to 2.

The proportions of men and women have not been invariable during the last thirty years. The mortality due to the Civil War caused a diminution of six-tenths of one per cent in the per cent of males of the whole population; but between 1870 and 1880, and 1880 and 1890, the per cent of males again increased to about the normal ratio of that stated for 1860. Reducing the number to ratios and avoiding percentages, it is found that in the United States as a whole there were in 1870, 97,801 females to every 100,000 males; in 1880 there were 96,644, and in 1890, 95,280 females.

There are, of course, great variations in the proportions in different parts of the United States; thus, for instance, in the District of Columbia only 47.56 per cent of the total population are males; in Massachusetts they constitute 48.58 per cent; in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey they are nearly equal to the females; and taking the whole North Atlantic division it is found that the proportions are very nearly equal, — 49.87 per cent for males and 50.13 per cent for females. In the South Atlantic division also the percentages are practically the same as those just stated; but the North Central division shows 51.85 for males and 48.15 for females, and the South Central division shows 50.98 per cent for males and 49.02 for females. The extreme is reached in the Western division, where the males constitute 58.88 per cent and the females only 41.12 per cent of the total population, and in Montana and Wyoming there are nearly twice as many males as females.

These differences are due to causes easily explainable. The Atlantic divisions form an old, settled region, whence for many decades adventurous persons, in large proportion males, have regularly tended westward; and although in the northeastern States the places of such emigrants have been filled to some extent by foreign immigration, the variation has not been

entirely overcome. Had it not been for such immigration, however, the differences would be more emphatically marked. The manufacturing centres of the northeastern States have attracted not only males from other countries, but also large numbers of women, partly domestic servants and partly factory employees.

The same cause which has reduced the proportion of males in the Atlantic States has increased it in the central and western States. In the North Central division and in the Western division the differences must be ascribed to foreign immigration and migrations from the East, which have tended to increase still further the proportion of males in the total population.

In the South Atlantic division different conditions are found to prevail. Foreign immigration to the States constituting this division has been slight and not sufficient to affect the constitution of the population as regards sex; for the sexes are found almost equally divided in 1850 and in 1860, while in 1870 the proportion of males diminished 1.13 per cent, probably on account of the Civil War. Since then, however, the proportion of males has increased, and the numbers of the two sexes were nearly equal in 1890. The States of the South Atlantic division, however, exhibit considerable variety.

Still other conditions have prevailed in the North Central division. In 1850 many of the States composing it were upon the frontier, but during the last forty or fifty years they have assumed the conditions of our older settled communities. As a rule, there has been comparatively little migration from these States to other States, while, on the other hand, there has been a large amount of migration to them, both from States farther east and from abroad, the numbers of the immigrants being disproportionately male.

The South Central division, which comprises a group of States extending from Alabama, a well-settled State even in 1850, to Texas, which was admitted to the Union in 1845, is a section which has received little foreign immigration, but

which has been filled up very largely by immigration from the South Atlantic States and by natural increase. As might be supposed, this division in 1850 contained a considerable excess of the male element.

The great Western division consists of States and Territories of more recent existence and settlement. Some of them were not known by name in 1850, and even now, without exception, they are sparsely settled. They have been in the condition of extreme frontier States, and therefore in a growing condition. In 1850 this division was peopled with 3 males to 1 female; in ten years the proportion had declined to 2 to 1, while in 1870 and 1880 more than 6 out of 10 were males, and in 1890 the proportion of males was but little smaller. In 1890 the least proportion of males in all the States and Territories comprising the Western division was in Utah, where 53.13 per cent were males. As far back as 1860 it is found that the population of Colorado included 95.37 per cent of males, and Nevada 89.50 per cent of males. California in 1850, at the beginning of the gold period, contained only 7.58 per cent of women. These conditions of the northwestern States in 1890 is almost as abnormal as that of California in 1850, or Colorado in 1860; family life, the growing up of children, will eventually go far to equalize the proportion of sexes.

In the United Kingdom the males constitute 48.54 and the females 51.46 per cent of the total population; in France the percentages are, respectively, 49.65 and 50.35; in Austria, 48.92 and 51.08; in Denmark, 48.76 and 51.24; in Germany, 49.03 and 50.97; in Spain, 49.04 and 50.96; in Sweden, 48.43 and 51.57; in Norway, 47.87 and 52.13.

19. Distribution by Ages.

The ground-work for some necessary studies of factory conditions and domestic service is to be found in the relative proportion of the sexes. The question of the relative number of children affects the whole problem of education, child saving,

and reformation, child labor, overcrowding, the sweating system, and other important phases of sociology; so that a study of the classification of the population by ages becomes essential. Unfortunately, however, when the attempt is made to distribute the population by single years of age, the results are not very satisfactory, on account of the tendency on the part of the majority of people to give their age in round numbers, as 25, or 30, or 35, instead of the exact age. This is particularly true in great manufacturing centres, where there is a large percentage of foreign population. The result is a concentration upon quinquennial periods, which has been noticed at every enumeration, whether in this or in other countries, and probably no efforts of enumerators to secure specific, correct answers will remove the universal tendency to give the nearest five or ten year period. Hence a classification by quinquennial periods is more accurate than by single years of age, and forms the basis of the diagram at the head of this chapter.

The average age of the population of the United States in 1890 was, for both sexes, 25.11 years as compared with 24.13 in 1880; for the males it was 25.31 in 1890 as against 24.27 in 1880; for females it was 24.91 in 1890 as against 23.98 years in 1880. A comparison with earlier decades would show that this rise of average age of the living population has long been going on. Just what the increase has been in a century cannot be stated definitely, but the rise in the reasonable expectation of human life is one of the triumphs of modern sanitary and medical science.

Of the total population in 1890 (62,622,250), 7,634,693, or one-eighth of the whole, were under 5 years of age. The number over 5 and under 10 years was almost the same, being 7,573,998, or 12.09 per cent of all. The next stratum, from 10 to 14 years of age, ought naturally to be less, but actually shows little falling off, the number being 7,033,509, or 11.23 per cent. Then there are found two other quinquennial periods of almost equal proportions. In nearly all other countries the next two strata are much smaller, but in the

United States, owing to the great immigration of young persons, those from 15 to 19 years, inclusive, numbered 6,557,563, and those from 20 to 24 years, inclusive, 6,196,676; the productive age may be considered from 15 to 45. Within this range there were 29,612,325, or 47.29 per cent of the whole population.

To learn the number of persons of school age, an arbitrary classification must be resorted to, for the term "school age" varies in different States and Territories, and of course there can be no school age determined by national law. While the term has been used in various national census reports, it is perplexing, since its limitation is not always perfectly clear, some States beginning the count at four years, and others including all up to twenty-one years. In 1890 there were 22,447,392 persons from five to twenty years of age; this number comprising 18,543,201 from five to seventeen years, and 3,904,191 from eighteen to twenty years of age.

The males of militia age, including all from eighteen to forty-four, inclusive, numbered in 1890 13,230,168. This, then, is the potential military force of the United States. Of this number 10,424,086, or 78.79 per cent of all males of militia age, were native born, and 2,806,082, or 21.21 per cent, were of foreign birth. From 1861 to 1865, out of a population less than half as large as at present, more than 3,000,000 different individuals were at one time or another enrolled in either the Northern or the Southern army, or more than half the available men.

The potential voters of the country are to be found in all males twenty-one years of age and upward; and in 1890 there were 16,940,311, the native-born males of voting age numbering 12,591,852, being 74.33 per cent of the whole, while 25.67 per cent, or 4,348,459, were of foreign birth. The native white of native parentage, who may be classed as of the American stock, constituted 51 per cent of the voting strength of the population, leaving, therefore, nearly one-half the possible voters to be classified as either native white or foreign parentage, foreign white, or colored. The total vote in the presidential election of 1892 was 12,059,351, or 67 per cent of the estimated number of voters.

For the first time, so far as Federal statistics are concerned, one is able to classify the population relative to citizenship of foreign-born males of voting age. The three categories are: aliens, or foreign-born men not yet naturalised; foreign-born males of twenty-one years or upwards, who have been naturalised; and native-born males. The relative proportions are of great and increasing importance in view of the constantly increasing body of foreign born that is being added each year to our population, especially as the greater proportion consists of males of adult age. These facts show the extent to which the potential voter of foreign birth enters into our political affairs. For the foreign-born men of voting age the following table shows their status as regards citizenship: —

Status.	Number.	Per Cent.
Aliens	1,189,452	27.35
Naturalised	2,545,753	58.54
First naturalisation papers filed . . .	236,061	5.43
Unknown	377,193	8.68
Total	4,348,459	100.00

Considerably more than one-half of the adult males of foreign birth living in 1890 have become naturalised and are full citizens of this country. Of the whole number, over one-twentieth have taken out their first naturalisation papers, thus indicating their intention of becoming citizens, while for one-twelfth no information regarding citizenship could be obtained. These three classes combined represent very nearly three-fourths of all the foreign-born males of voting age. One-fourth, therefore, are alien males of voting age, but who have not seen fit to take any steps necessary to acquire citizenship. In many States and large cities, especially in New York and Chicago, the proportions of foreign born voters are much larger than the

average. In the city of New York, of the males of voting age, — that is, twenty-one years and over, — the native white constitute 38.27 per cent, the foreign white 59.70 per cent, and the coloured 2.03 per cent. In Chicago the foreign white voting population is 59.64 per cent of the whole; in Philadelphia, 37.26; in Brooklyn, 49.74; in St. Louis, 43.37; in Boston, 45.62, and in Baltimore, 25.35 per cent; and all these proportions would be larger if only men from thirty to fifty years of age were considered. It will be seen by these figures that the influence of the foreign-born voter varies in the large cities. Some of the smaller cities of the Union would show as great, and in some cases greater, concentration of the foreign vote.

20. Families.

The children of the country and their relations to the rest of the community are a powerful factor in the next sociological element, the family. The statistics of families and dwellings as shown by the census offer opportunities for the study of social conditions in some very important directions, such as the number of families and persons to a dwelling, and the average size of families. Such statistics[1] enable one to answer the question whether families, either of native

1 Total Families and Persons to a Family, by Geographical Divisions, at each Census, 1850–1890.

Geographical Divisions.	Number of Families.					Persons to a Family.				
	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.
North Atlantic	1,582,928	2,048,315	2,497,494	3,023,741	3,712,242	5.45	5.17	4.92	4.80	4.69
South Atlantic	537,857	652,396	1,132,521	1,463,361	1,687,767	5.61	5.40	5.17	5.19	5.25
North Central	934,873	1,683,190	2,480,311	3,389,017	4,598,605	5.09	5.34	5.23	5.12	4.80
South Central	499,767	634,024	1,242,411	1,697,559	2,071,129	5.79	5.51	5.18	5.35	5.30
Western	42,765	143,009	226,526	372,247	620,418	4.18	4.33	4.37	4.75	4.38
United States	3,598,240	5,210,934	7,579,363	9,945,916	12,690,152	5.55	5.28	5.09	5.04	4.93

or foreign origin, are holding their former average size, and to determine whether family life is gaining or losing in healthfulness and permanency.

The number of families increased, from 1880 to 1890, 27.59 per cent; from 1870 to 1880, 21.22 per cent; from 1860 to 1870, 45.45 per cent, and from 1850 to 1860, 44.82 per cent. The population increased, from 1880 to 1890, 24.86 per cent; from 1870 to 1880, 30.08 per cent; 1860 to 1870, 22.63 per cent; and from 1850 to 1860, 35.58 per cent.

It should be noted that the census definition of "the family" comprehends not only the real, normal family, as it is commonly understood, — that is, consisting of the husband, wife, children, and immediate dependants like relatives and servants, — but it comprehends all persons living alone where they maintain their own establishments, and all larger aggregations of people subject to one common supervision, such as the inmates of hotels, hospitals, prisons, asylums, etc. Practically, it makes but little difference in the proportions, so far as great bodies of people are concerned, whether the families are considered on the basis of the actual normal family or on the ordinary census basis; for large aggregations are offset by many isolated individuals. It would not do, however, to consider this as a rule in small aggregations of people. Taking a college town, Wellesley, the average size of the normal family was 5.10; but, including Wellesley College, it was 6.15, or an increase in the average of more than one person. The question of the size of the family is more fully discussed in Chapter V. (§ 36).

21. Proportion of Families and Inmates to Dwellings.

In discussing the number of families and their composition, it is always interesting to study the relation of persons to dwellings. A dwelling for census purposes means any building or place of abode in which any person was living at the time the census was taken, whether the abode was a room above a warehouse or factory, a loft above a stable, a wigwam on the out-

skirts of a settlement, a hotel, a boarding or lodging house, a large tenement-house, or the dwelling-house ordinarily considered as such. On this basis the number of dwellings in 1890 has increased 28.22 per cent over the number in 1880. In 1890 there were 11,483,318 dwellings and 12,690,152 families, there thus being 10.51 per cent more families than dwellings, while in 1880 the excess was 11.06 per cent, and in 1850 it was 7.02 per cent.[1]

An examination of the statistics proves that the number of persons to a dwelling is constantly decreasing, although slightly, thus indicating increased comfort on the part of the population as a whole. In 1850 there were 5.94 persons to each dwelling in the country; while in 1890 the average was 5.45. In the West, however, this statement is reversed; for in 1850 the number of persons to a dwelling was 4.27, and in 1890 it had increased to 5.05. This result, as in the case of the increased size of families, is natural in new settlements. While the general results of the foregoing table are unquestioned, there are reasons for supposing that in 1850 and 1860 the number of dwellings was understated, especially in the Southern States.

The excess of families over dwellings in 1850, 1880, and 1890, both

1 TOTAL DWELLINGS AND PERSONS TO A DWELLING, BY GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS, AT EACH CENSUS, 1850–1890.

Geographical Divisions.	Number of Dwellings.					Persons to a Dwelling.				
	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.
North Atlantic	1,339,[illegible]05	1,80[illegible]135	2,103,500	2,[illegible]82	2,962,345	6.21	5 86	5.85	5.07	5.87
South Atlantic	5[illegible]5,5[illegible]	[illegible]71	1,102,778	1,[illegible]493	1,[illegible]372	5.71	5.37	5.31	5.49	5 45
North Central	9[illegible]3,[illegible]5	1[illegible]1[illegible]	2,405,026	3,[illegible]734	4,[illegible]486	5.83	5.32	5.40	5.47	5.22
South Central	4[illegible]86	[illegible]7	1,197,569	1,[illegible]061	2,[illegible]779	5.81	5.64	5.37	5.19	5.47
Western	4[illegible]91	1[illegible]50	233,360	345,789	599,386	4.27	4.17	4.24	5 11	5.05
United States	3,362,337	4,[illegible]92	7,042,833	8,955,812	11,483,318	5.94	5.53	5.47	5.60	5.45

as regards number and per cent, is shown in the following brief table : —

Geographical Divisions.	1850.		1880.		1890.	
	Number.	Per cent	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
North Atlantic .	192,973	13.88	593,559	24.42	749,897	25.31
South Atlantic .	9,261	1.75	79,868	5.77	61,395	3.77
North Central .	23,308	2.56	216,283	6.82	311,119	7.26
South Central .	9,487	1 94	73,886	4.55	63,841	3.18
Western . . .	874	2.09	26,508	7.67	20,582	3.43
United States	235,903	7.02	990,104	11.06	1,206,834	10.51

The following summary by geographical divisions shows the total number of persons to a dwelling, from 1 person to 11 and over : —

Geographical Divisions.	Persons to a Dwelling.							
	1 person.		2 to 6 persons.		7 to 10 persons.		11 persons and over.	
	Per cent of Dwellings.	Per cent of Population.	Per cent of Dwellings.	Per cent of Population	Per cent of Dwellings.	Per cent of Population.	Per cent of Dwellings.	Per cent of Population.
North Atlantic .	2.43	0.41	69.18	46.90	21.31	29.27	7.08	23.42
South Atlantic .	3.16	0 58	65.51	49.03	27.88	41.68	3.45	8.71
North Central .	3.05	0.58	71.63	55.31	21.90	33.66	3.42	10.45
South Central .	2.77	0.50	65.52	48.99	28.45	42.41	3.26	8.10
Western . . .	10.08	2.00	66.36	51.14	20.02	32.34	3.54	14.52
United States	3.22	0.59	68.79	50.77	23.64	35.05	4.35	13.59

The number of dwellings having one person only represents one thirty-first of the whole number of dwellings in the United States; while the population of such dwellings is but one one-hundred and seventieth of the total population. Dwellings containing two to six persons represent over two-thirds of all the dwellings, and about one-half of the whole population. Four and thirty-five hundredths per cent of the dwellings contain more than ten persons, and represent nearly one-seventh of the total population. These figures will be found useful hereafter in discussing tenement-house problems (§§ 68-69: 81-82.)

22. Dwellings in Cities.

Some light is thrown upon the whole question of the housing of the poor by a study of the dwellings in cities. Examining the results in this direction for twenty-eight cities, or those having a population of 100,000 and over, we find that there were in New York City at the time of the last Federal census a total of 81,828 occupied dwellings. More than 50 per cent of these contain from 1 to 10 persons, and a little less than 50 per cent contain more than 10 persons. The population represented by dwellings in New York City having 10 persons or less is 250,002, or one-sixth of the whole; while the population represented by dwellings having more than 10 occupants is 1,265,299, or 83.50 per cent of the entire population. Of course many large and sumptuous hotels and apartment houses are included in these totals.

The population of Chicago is about evenly divided between the two classes of dwellings, 50.82 per cent living in dwellings having from 1 to 10 occupants, and 49.18 per cent living in dwellings containing more than 10 persons each on the average.

In Philadelphia a very different condition of affairs is seen. Out of a total of 187,052 dwellings, which is more than twice the number of dwellings in New York City and about 50 per cent more than in Chicago, 178,839, or 95.61 per cent, of the

dwellings contain 10 persons or less; and only 8,213 dwellings, or 4.39 per cent of the whole, contain more than 10 persons. Relative to population, 913,076 out of a total of 1,046,964 people in Philadelphia live in dwellings containing 10 persons or less, and this is 87.21 per cent of the total population; while only a little over one-eighth of the total population, or in round numbers, 133,888, live in dwellings having more than 10 occupants.

This subject is one which the public so much desires to study, and is generally so important, that special attention is called to a table, to be found on page cxciii of Part I., Reports on the Population of the Eleventh Census, showing the facts concerning the number of persons in dwellings, classified as to the number in each, in groups; that is, the number of dwellings having from 1 to 10 persons, from 11 to 15 persons, from 16 to 20 persons, and 20 persons and over. They bear particularly upon the question of overcrowding. From them it is found that in New York City 23,596 dwellings, or 28.83 per cent of all the dwellings, had more than 20 persons to each dwelling, and contained in the aggregate 1,010,786 persons, or 66.70 per cent of its total population. Of this number of dwellings it has been found by a special tally for New York City, that 8,313 contain from 21 to 30 persons, 9,350 from 31 to 50 persons, 5,460 from 51 to 100 persons, and 473 over 100 persons. In Brooklyn 25.70 per cent, in Jersey City 23.53 per cent, and in Cincinnati 21.92 per cent of their total population, live in dwellings containing more than 20 persons. The per cent of population in Chicago living in dwellings with more than 20 persons to a dwelling is 16.63 per cent, in St. Louis 10.14 per cent, in Boston 13.93 per cent, in Buffalo, 8.09 per cent, in Newark 10.25 per cent, and in Providence 7.49 per cent. In Philadelphia only 3.41 per cent, and in Baltimore but 2.56 per cent, of the population are contained in dwellings with more than 20 persons.

CHAPTER IV.

NATIVE AND FOREIGN BORN.

23. References.

Same as preceding chapter; also Frederick L. Hoffman, *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro* (American Economic Association, *Economic Studies*, XI. Nos. 1, 2, and 3); W. L. Trenholm, *The Southern States: their Social and Industrial History, Condition and Needs* (*Journal of American Social Science Association*, No. IX. 78, Jan. 1878); Albert Bushnell Hart, *Practical Essays*, No. 11. On the question of immigration (§ 24) the *Reports* of the United States Commissioner of Immigration, and the *Reports* of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department have been used. *Eleventh Census, Report on Population*, has been the authority: on nativity (§ 26), I. lxxix; on geographical distribution (§ 27), I. lxxxiii, xcii; on races (§ 28), I. cxxxiv; on distribution of races (§ 29), I. cxxxvi; on parent nativity (§ 30), I. cliv; on colour (§ 31), I. xciii, xcviii; on internal migration (§ 32), I. cxxi, cxxii.

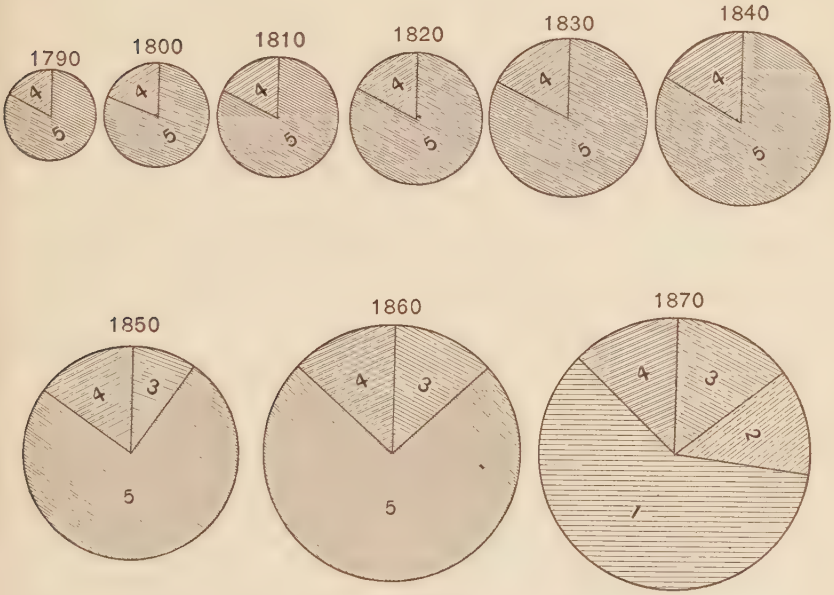
24. Number and Nationality of Immigrants.

The preceding chapters have shown the numbers of the population of the United States; the physical conditions under which it lives, including climate, rainfall, altitude, and temperature, and distribution relative to sex, ages, and families, with facts concerning dwellings. The next step is to deal with the origin and racial characteristics of the people.

The original settlement of the United States was made by settlers coming from Great Britain, and largely from England. According to the historian Bancroft, the colonies in 1775 were inhabited by persons "one-fifth of whom had for their mother-tongue some other language than the English;" these persons were chiefly French, Swedes, Dutch, and Germans.

Prior to 1821 the Government took no account of immigration, but from that year on the statistics of immigration, as collected and reported by the Treasury Department, have furnished the facts on which a discussion of the racial char-

THE TOTAL POPULATION, AND ITS ELEMENTS AT EACH CENSUS



[Reproduced from the report of the Eleventh U. S. Census, for Outline of Practical Sociology.]

acteristics of the people must be based. In addition to the immigration returns, the Federal census has for many years furnished a count of native and foreign-born persons, and since 1880 has included also natives having foreign parentage.

For nearly half a century immigration to this country has been upon an enormous scale. For many years prior to 1821 it was but trifling in amount, and, indeed, it was not until about 1844 that immigration upon a considerable scale set in. At that time the succession of famines in Ireland caused an exodus from that country, the vast body of the emigration coming to this country, and from that time to the present there has been a very large migration across the Atlantic.

It will be seen by consulting the table [1]

1 Immigration by Races.

Countries.	1821–1830.	1831–1840.	1841–1850.	1851–1860.	1861–1870.	1871–1880.	1881–1890.	1891–1898.
England and Wales	14,225	7,796	33,353	253,444	226,590	444,337	657,320	251,020
Scotland	2,032	2,667	3,712	37,331	39,768	87,564	149,869	54,437
Ireland	50,724	207,381	780,719	914,119	435,778	436,871	655,482	334,425
Great Britain, not specified	7,042	65,347	229,979	132,109	341,538	16,142	168	83
Germany	6,761	152,454	434,626	951,667	787,468	718,182	1,452,970	503,761
British North American Provinces	2,277	13,624	41,723	59,399	153,571	383,269	392,802 [1]	1,152
Norway and Sweden	91	1,201	13,903	20,931	109,298	211,245	568,362	278,102
Austria-Hungary	. .	. .	. .	. .	7,800	72,969	353,719	361,820
Italy	408	2,253	1,870	9,231	11,728	55,759	307,309	468,407
France	8,497	45,575	77,262	76,358	35,984	72,706	50,464	31,599
Russia and Poland	91	646	656	1,621	4,536	52,254	265,088	409,034
China	2	8	35	41,397	64,301	123,201	61,711	19,824
Switzerland	3,226	4,821	4,644	25,011	23,286	28,203	81,988	39,286
Denmark	169	1,063	539	3,749	17,094	31,771	88,132	46,720
Netherlands	1,078	1,412	8,251	10,789	9,102	16,541	53,701	29,092
Other Countries	45,036	92,877	81,979	60,958	47,682	61,587	107,528	243,949
Total	143,439	599,125	1,713,251	2,598,214	2,314,824	2,812,191	5,246,613	3,062,721

[1] 1881 to 1885. Since 1885 no account has been taken of the Canadians coming over the border.

that the immigration, which between 1831 and 1840 was a little short of 600,000, sprung to 1,713,251 in the decade from 1841 to 1850, and thence to nearly 2,600,000 in the ten years from 1851 to 1860. There was a slight falling off in the succeeding decade, owing to our internal disorders, which was made up between 1871 and 1880, while during the decade from 1881 to 1890 immigration was unparalleled in amount, reaching a total of nearly 5,250,000, almost twice as great as during the preceding decade, and more than twice as great as during any other ten-year period in the country's history. More than one-third of the total immigration of this country since 1821 came during the ten years from 1881 to 1890.

The Federal statistics (especially those of the Bureau of Statistics) show for each decade the number of immigrants from each of the principal countries represented between 1821 and 1898, and from them it appears that the Irish were the first people represented in considerable numbers among our immigrants; and that there have been two maxima of their contingent, — one in 1851 to 1860, and one in 1881 to 1890. During the first three decades their number was in excess of that of any other nationality, but since 1860 they have been greatly exceeded in number by the Germans, and of late years even by Russians and Poles and by Italians.

The Germans, starting from small beginnings in the first decade, increased rapidly and reached nearly a million in the decade from 1851 to 1860. For a time their contingent fell off decidedly, but in 1881–90 they again increased to their maximum of nearly a million and a half, or more than twice the contribution from any other nationality. Next in importance are the natives of England and Wales, in colonial times the principal element, but in 1821–30 only a few thousand; they have increased gradually but more regularly until in the decade from 1881 to 1890 they reached a number in excess of the Irish and second only to the Germans. The history of the Scotch immigration has been very similar to that of the English, although it is very much less in amount.

The immigration of the French, though never great, and apparently diminishing at present, has been more regular than that of any other nationality. Immigration from the Netherlands, while it has increased with some regularity, has not yet reached great importance, nor does it appear likely to do so. Immigration from the British Provinces of North America was notable in the decade from 1841 to 1850, and since then it has increased at a very rapid rate, reaching nearly 400,000 in the decade from 1871 to 1880, and still more in the five years from 1881 to 1885. In all probability were the statistics of immigration of these people available for the entire decade, it would be found that fully 800,000 of them had crossed our border. Several races are represented in this movement; the French-Canadians are the largest element.

Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish immigrants did not begin to come in any considerable number until 1861; but since that time, and especially during the decade from 1881 to 1890 they increased with extraordinary rapidity. The Russians and Poles were almost unknown in the statistics of immigration prior to 1871, and in the decade following that year immigrants of that nationality numbered only about 50,000, while during the decade from 1881 to 1890 their number increased to more than a quarter of a million, and the increase is still maintained. The case is almost precisely similar with the Hungarians and Italians. Of these only a few scores or hundreds reached our shores in each year prior to 1871. In the decade following, these nationalities first appeared in numbers of importance, while in the decade from 1881 to 1890 their numbers were increased many fold.

25. Relative Immigration of Various Races.

The absolute figures do not bring out distinctly the varying percentages of the various races from 1821 to 1898. The great elements of immigration have been the British Empire (including England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland), Ger-

many, Scandinavia, and the Slav races. In the first decade of which there is a record (1821–30) the British contribution was 53 per cent of the whole (35 per cent of the whole, Irish); the French contribution was only 6 per cent. In 1831–40 the total British contribution was 47 per cent (but the Irish remained at 35 per cent), and the Germans furnished 25 per cent. In 1841–50 the Irish furnished 46 per cent, other British elements 15 per cent, and the Germans still 25 per cent. The decade from 1851 to 1860 marks the first distinct change in the proportions, the Germans contributing 37 per cent of the whole, the Irish remaining at 35 per cent, other British elements being 17 per cent. As the total numbers were very large, the increase of other than British elements was the more significant. The Chinese, almost unknown in the previous history of immigration, first assumed importance during this decade.

In the decade from 1861 to 1870 Germans about held their own at 34 per cent, and the importance of the Irish relative to the other elements still further diminished, the proportion having fallen to 19 per cent, while that of the other British elements reached 26 per cent. In that decade the immigration from Norway and Sweden first became important, though it amounted to only 5 per cent of the total, and was a little exceeded by that from the British North American Provinces.

In the next decade, that from 1871 to 1880, still further changes in the constitution of the immigration are to be noted. The Irish contingent still further diminished to only 16 per cent of the total, and was slightly exceeded by the natives of England and Wales. The British again exceeded the Germans, who constituted but 26 per cent of all. The British Americans constituted 14 per cent, and the natives of Norway and Sweden constituted 8 per cent. In this decade several new races began to assume importance, the Russians and Poles constituting 2 per cent of the immigration, the Hungarians nearly 3 per cent, and the Italians 2 per cent.

In the next decade, from 1881 to 1890, the changes thus

portended were still greater. Of the enormous number of immigrants, 5,246,613, only 12.5 per cent, or one-eighth, were from Ireland, and only 15.5 per cent were from other parts of the United Kingdom. The proportion from Germany more than held its own, being 28 per cent. Of Norwegians and Swedes the proportion rose to 11 per cent. Russians and Poles, Hungarians and Italians, together constituted 18 per cent.

During the last thirty years the proportion of Irish has decidedly fallen off; that of the English and Scotch has diminished. The German immigration has nearly held its own. The immigration of Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians has greatly increased in recent years, while the increase of Hungarians, Poles, Russians, Italians, and Bohemians is so rapid that should it continue at the present rate these elements will soon outnumber all others in the annual incoming.

The following statement shows the countries from which the principal elements of the total immigration of the past 78 years have been derived; but it should be noted that many persons born in Ireland have been included in the number of im-

Countries.	Number From 1821-1898.
England and Wales	1,888,085
Scotland	378,250
Ireland	3,815,499
Great Britain, not specified	793,398
Germany	5,007,889
Norway and Sweden	1,203,133
British North-American Provinces	1,048,027
Austria-Hungary	796,338
Italy	857,065
France	397,845
Russia, including Poland	733,926
China	310,479
Switzerland	201,555
Denmark	189,237
Netherlands	128,966
Other Countries	740,676
Total	18,490,378

migrants coming from England, "Great Britain not specified," and the British American Provinces. The figures are also not complete, because no separate record has been kept of the English, Scotch-Irish, and French-Canadians, and Mexicans who have come over the land borders.

Out of a total immigration since 1821 of 18,490,378, not less than 37.44 per cent has been derived from the United Kingdom and 27.33 per cent from Germany. The United Kingdom and Germany together have supplied 64.77 per cent, or nearly two-thirds, of all immigration to this country. The Norwegians and Swedes have thus far contributed about 6 per cent of all immigration, and other nations a still smaller proportion.

26. Nativity of Living Population.

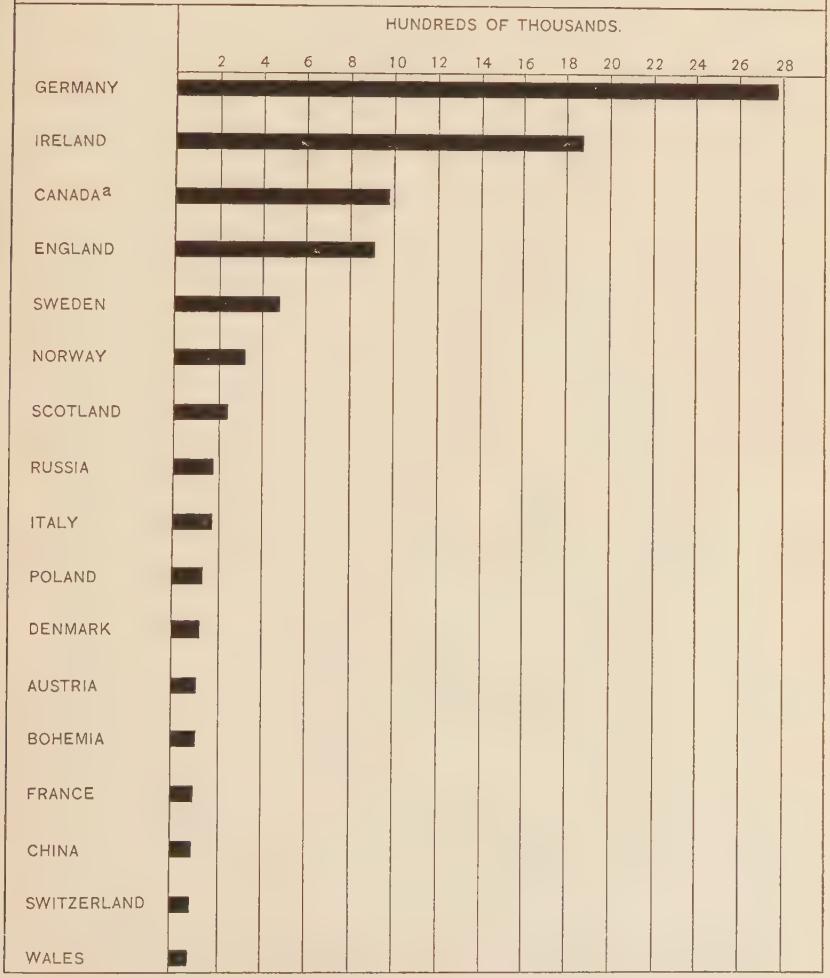
The general nativity of the living population must be shown from census reports, which have included data on this subject since 1850. Of the population in 1890 (62,622,250), those of native birth numbered 53,372,703, and there were 9,249,547 persons of foreign birth; that is, of the 15,427,657 immigrants prior to 1890 there were 9,249,547 then living. The following table shows the number and per cent of persons of native and foreign birth at each census since and including that date: —

Census Years.	Native Born.		Foreign Born.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
1850	20,947,274	90.32	2,244,602	9.68
1860	27,304,624	86 84	4,138,697	13.16
1870	32,991,142	85.56	5,567,229	14.44
1880	43,475,840	86.68	6,679,943	13.32
1890	53,372,703	85 23	9,249,547	14.77

It is seen that the proportion of foreign-born inhabitants, starting with 9.68 per cent in 1850, rose at a leap to 13.16 per

NATIVITY OF FOREIGN BORN POPULATION, 1890.

a—Includes Natives of Newfoundland



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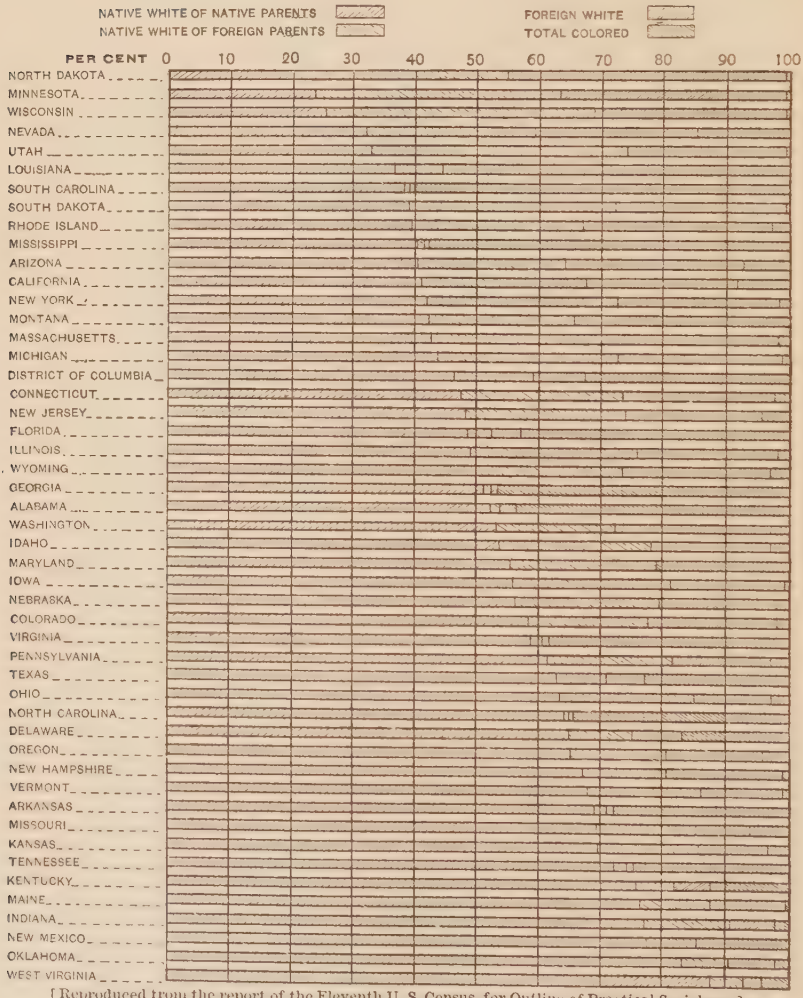
CONSTITUENTS OF THE POPULATION, 1890

PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION



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cent in 1860, and in 1890 it had sustained a further increase to 14.77 per cent. The increased proportion in 1870 is doubtless due in great measure, if not entirely, to the incompleteness of that census in the Southern States, where the omissions were chiefly of the native-born element.

27. Geographical Distribution of Native and Foreign Born.

The foreign-born elements are confined almost entirely to the northern and western States. In the North Atlantic division the proportion of the foreign-born element is not much less than one-fourth of the population, the proportion ranging from 30.8 per cent in Rhode Island down to 11.9 in Maine. The average proportion in the North Central division is 18.2 per cent, and the States of this division show a wide range. In the Northwest and far West the proportions vary. In North Dakota 44.6 per cent of the people are of foreign birth. Next is Minnesota, with 35.9 per cent, then Wisconsin, with 30.8 per cent. The smallest proportion is found in Indiana, where about one-sixteenth of the inhabitants are of foreign birth, and in Missouri, where a little more than one-twelfth are foreign born. In the Western division the proportion of foreign born is 25.5 per cent, and the proportions in the various States and Territories composing this division range from 32.6 in Montana and 32.1 in Nevada to 7.3 in New Mexico.

The South has had very few foreign immigrants since the Revolution, the South Atlantic division containing on an average but 2.4 per cent of the foreign-born element. The State having the largest proportion is Maryland, where it is 9 per cent, and from this it ranges down to 0.2 per cent in North Carolina. The proportion in the South Central division is but little greater, being, on the average, but 2.9 per cent. The State having the greatest proportion is Texas, where it is 6.8, and that having the least is Mississippi, with only 0.6 per cent.

Another way of considering the same problem is to see how the total number of foreigners has been subdivided among the

five great divisions of the country at each of the past five censuses. The following table sets forth the facts: —

Geographical Divisions.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.
	Per cent.	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent.	Per cent.
North Atlantic . . .	59.06	48.90	45.27	42.13	42.04
South Atlantic . . .	4.67	3.93	3.00	2.61	2.25
North Central . . .	28.98	37.29	41.91	43.66	43.90
South Central . . .	6.09	5.56	4.19	4.11	3.48
Western	1.20	4.32	5.63	7.49	8.33
The United States .	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The North Atlantic and North Central divisions contain a little less than 86 per cent of the entire foreign-born element, and if to these the Western division is added, 94.27 per cent are accounted for, leaving only 5.73 per cent in the Southern States.

From the various data now presented it is seen that the condition of the several States and Territories of the country, as regards native and foreign born elements of the population, has been, since 1850, very much the same as at present, the foreign-born element being practically confined to the northern and western States. As the proportion of the foreign-born element to the whole has risen from 9.68 per cent in 1850 to 14.77 per cent in 1890, the numerical increase has gone almost entirely to the northern and western States, and has therefore raised the proportion in the North Atlantic division from 15.37 to 22.34 per cent, in the North Central division from 12.04 to 18.16 per cent, and in the Western division from 15.11 to 25.46 per cent. In every State in the North Atlantic division the proportion of foreigners has increased. In the North Central division it has increased in every State except Wiscon-

sin, Missouri, Nebraska, and Kansas, and of these the proportion still remains excessively large in Wisconsin.

If we examine particular States or sections of the country some extraordinary proportions are disclosed. Massachusetts, for instance, in 1890 had 657,131 foreign-born persons, equivalent to 29.4 per cent of her population. The great State of New York had in 1890 1,571,050 foreign-born persons. In particular counties or cities the figures are still more startling. In Chicago in 1890 the foreigners were 40.98 per cent; in Holyoke, Mass., 47.89 per cent; in New York, 42.23 per cent; in Lowell, Mass., 44.53 per cent; in Fall River, Mass., 50.72 per cent; in Manchester, N. H., 45.53 per cent; in Duluth, Minn., 48.99 per cent. In some of the western States the high percentage of foreign-born population in 1880 has been lessened by the increase in population from the children of those accounted as foreign born in 1880.

Turning to foreign countries, it is learned from Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics that the United Kingdom has about 6 foreigners in each one thousand of the population; France, 29; Germany, 6; Austria, 16; Hungary, 15; Italy, 2; Spain, 3; Sweden, 4; Norway, 20; Belgium, 26; Switzerland, 74, and Greece, 19. The foreign population in London is 21 per thousand; in Paris, 90; in Berlin, 13; in Budapest, 14; Montevideo, 210; Buenos Ayres, 360. These figures can be compared with those for the United States, by which it has been shown that there were 147 foreigners to each one thousand of the whole population; in some large cities there are over 500.

28. Races.

From the statements already presented, the facts as to the country of birth of our foreign population can be easily ascertained, but they do not bring out the importance of the national and ethnical elements. The geographies divide mankind into five great races, — the Caucasian or European, the Mongolian or Asiatic, the Ethiopian or African, the Malay or Malayo-Polynesian, and the American or Indian. The sociologist, and

therefore the statistician in this connection, cannot classify the facts as to population on this basis. The mixture of races, the constant migrations from one geographical division to another, have, for purposes of statistical classification, quite destroyed the old distinctions. The Federal Census Office has experienced great difficulty in adhering to the distribution of our population in accordance with the five great divisions named, and, for the purpose of considering the foreign-born element on a broader basis than that indicated by mere country of birth, groups the foreign born as follows: —

British Americans, comprising the natives of Canada and Newfoundland.

Irish, comprising the natives of Ireland.

British, comprising the natives of England, Scotland, and Wales.

Teutons, comprising the natives of Germany, Austria, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Switzerland.

Scandinavians, comprising the natives of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

Slavs, comprising the natives of Russia, Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland.

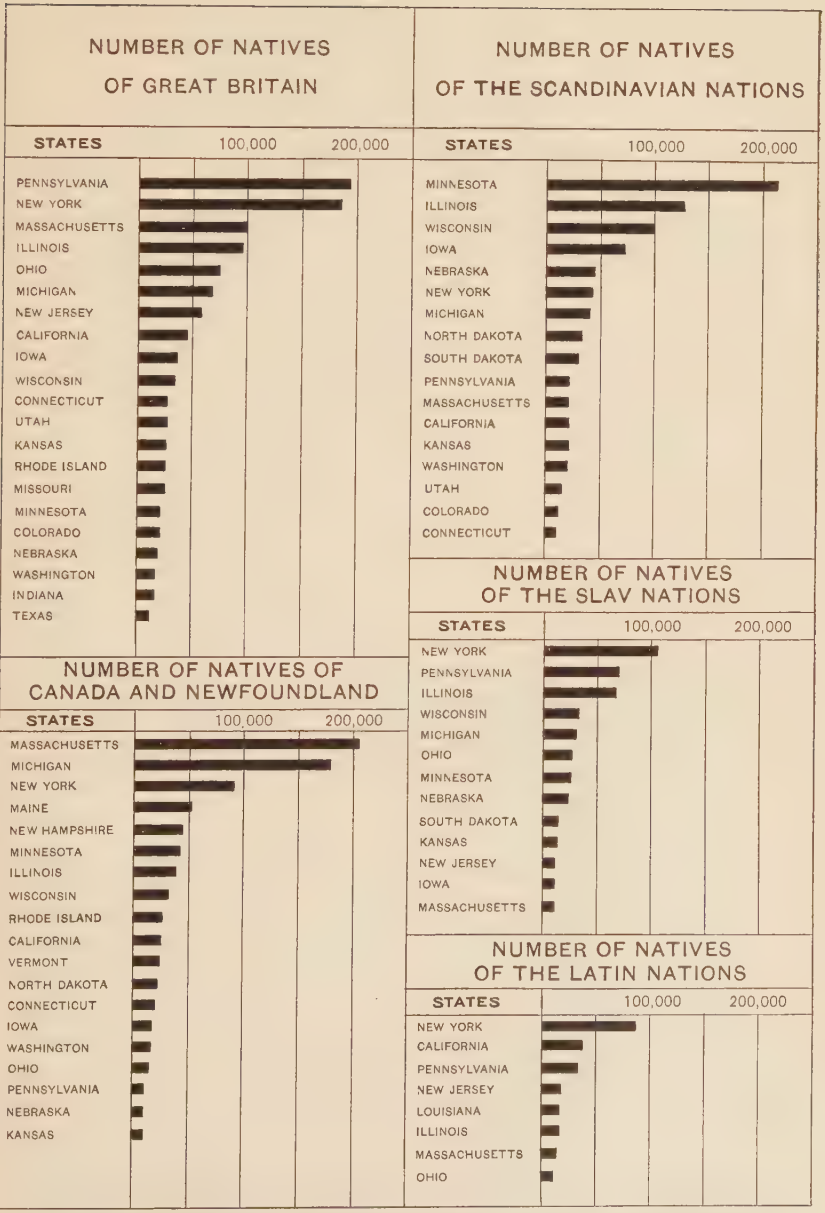
Greco-Latins, comprising the natives of France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece.

Asiatics, comprising the natives of China, Japan, and other parts of Asia.

This logical classification is set forth on the diagrams on opposite page.

29. Geographical Distribution of Races.

It is interesting and instructive to learn where the representatives of these different peoples have found their homes. The British Americans in 1890 were found mainly in the New England and North Central States, especially in Massachusetts, New York, Maine, and New Hampshire. A large number was also found in Michigan. The proportion to the total population was greatest in the States nearest the northern boundary,



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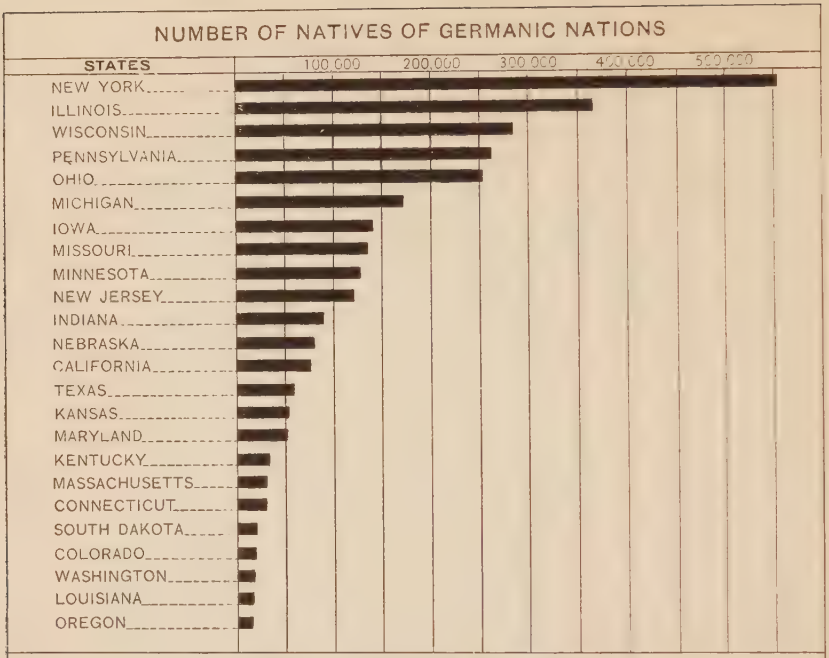

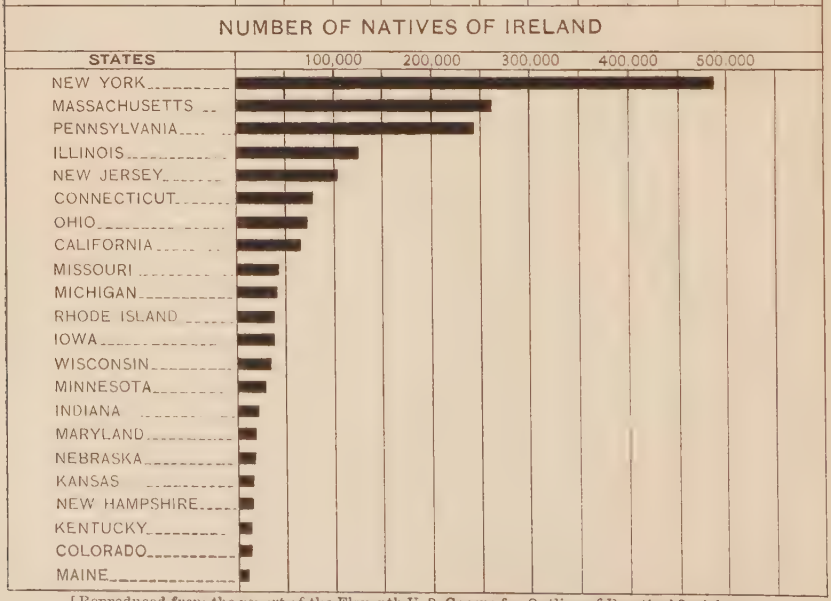

[Reproduced from the report of the Eleventh U. S. Census, for Outline of Practical Sociology.]

particularly in North Dakota, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Michigan, Rhode Island, Maine, and Vermont.

The Irish were found mainly in the North Atlantic division, and to a certain extent in some of the States of the North Central and Western divisions; and in the proportion which the Irish bore to the whole population the conditions were somewhat similar, the largest percentage being found in the North Atlantic States, the concentration being greatest in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, while New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania come next in the order named.

The British, comprising the natives of England, Scotland, and Wales, are found in the greatest numbers in the North Atlantic division, there being a larger number in Pennsylvania and New York than in any of the other States. The British appear to be widely dispersed over the whole country outside of the South Atlantic and South Central divisions, the largest per cent of the total population being found in the Western division, nearly 13 per cent of the entire number of inhabitants of Utah and more than 8 per cent of the inhabitants of Wyoming belonging to the group.

The Teutons consist almost entirely of Germans, the other contributing nationalities being relatively of slight importance. These people were found in 1890 in large bodies in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, and also in the eastern States of the North Central division, particularly in Illinois and Wisconsin. Considering them in proportion to the total population, they were found more largely in Wisconsin, where they comprised more than one-sixth of the population of the State. They made up nearly one-tenth of the population of Minnesota, Illinois, and New York, while in every one of the North Atlantic and North Central States outside of New England they comprised a marked proportion of the whole population.

The Scandinavians, comprising Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes, were found to have made their homes in considerable

numbers in Minnesota, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa in the North Central division. Their proportion to the total population is found to be most marked in the North Central division, and next in degree in the Western division. In Minnesota they constituted one-sixth of the entire population. In North Dakota they constituted considerably more than one-sixth of the population, and in South Dakota very nearly one-tenth.

The half-million or more Slavs were found mainly in the North Central division, and to a secondary extent in the North Atlantic division. The largest proportions of these people to the total population were found in South Dakota, North Dakota, and Nebraska. Many were found, however, in other States of the North Central division, and in New York and Pennsylvania, the percentage in the latter being small.

The strangers coming from the Greco-Latin nations — France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece — located themselves principally in New York, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, and Ohio. The largest proportions to the total population for this group in 1890 were found in the States of Nevada, California, Louisiana, New York, Colorado, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

The Asiatics were almost entirely from China, and were found principally in the Western division, comparatively few having spread to other States. The largest proportions relative to population were found in California and Nevada. In the eastern part of the United States their numbers and proportions are insignificant.

As shown by the statements in this chapter relating to the proportion of the foreign-born in different parts of the country, the question might be asked how far immigrants have remained in the East or sought the West for their habitations. Climate has had much to do with it; business, habits, and occupations have contributed more, perhaps, than any other single influence in directing the course of the settlement of the foreign-born. Immigrants, in the earlier years of their coming to this country, very naturally avoided the Southern

States, although they might have been much richer in natural resources; they did not care to compete with slave labour, and they would settle oftentimes on cheerless prairies of the West rather than in the fertile fields of the South. This, of course, is true of those who desired to settle upon farms. A large proportion of the immigrants coming to the United States have been mechanics. These very naturally sought the localities where mechanical industries prevailed, and they have either remained in the great manufacturing centres East, or sought like centres in the Middle and Western States. Climate, forms of labour, occupation, the location of old-country friends and neighbours, and many other influences have directed the distribution of the foreign-born element of our population.

30. Parent Nativity.

The consideration of the foreign element in our population so far has been confined to the people of foreign birth only. Until the census of 1870 no effort was made to determine the proportion of foreign parentage in the total population; that is to say, the number of persons, whether themselves of native or foreign birth, who had either one or both parents foreign born. The census of 1870 disclosed the fact that while the total number of foreign born was 5,667,229, the whole number of persons of foreign parentage was 10,892,015, which constituted 28.25 per cent of the total population at that time. There were only a few cases born in foreign countries of parents who were both native American born.

In 1880, though the results were only approximately correct, it appears that out of the total population of 50,155,783, there were 14,922,744, or 29.75 per cent, who had either one or both parents foreign born, of whom 6,646,691 were foreigners. In the general results arrived at in 1890 there are some variations of classification, but the enumeration shows that 20,676,046 persons were of foreign parentage (including 156,403 persons of coloured foreign parentage), or 33.02 per

cent of the total population of 62,622,250, and of these 9,249,547 were foreigners. The conclusion, then, is that one-third of the total population of the United States in 1890 was either born abroad or had parents (one or both) born abroad.

The percentages of persons of foreign birth or parentage in some States are very remarkable. In the North Atlantic division it was 47.21 per cent of the total population; in Massachusetts, 56.24 per cent; in Rhode Island, 58.02 per cent, and in New York, 56.65 per cent. In the South Atlantic division the foreign born and children of foreign parentage range from 24.02 in Maryland to .7 of 1 per cent in North Carolina, but average only 6.02 per cent of the total population. The North Central division has 43.02 per cent, ranging from 78.98 in North Dakota to 20.40 in Indiana. The South Central division has but 7.59 per cent, ranging from 15.13 in Texas to 2 per cent in Mississippi. In the Western division 48.67 per cent of the population is of foreign birth or of foreign parentage, the highest percentage being found in Utah, 66.28 per cent, and the lowest in New Mexico, 15.44 per cent.

31. Population according to Colour.

The distribution of the population relative to colour constitutes a valuable feature of any sociological study of the people. Out of a total population of 62,622,250 in 1890 the persons of negro descent numbered 7,470,040. In addition to these there were 107,475 Chinese, 2,039 Japanese, and 58,806 Indians to be enrolled among the general population of the country, making the total of the coloured element of the United States in 1890 7,638,360, or about one-eighth of the whole population.

The relative proportion of negroes and of whites is a factor of great importance in the conditions of Southern agriculture and manufactures. The following table gives the figures since 1790. The figures of 1870 are known to be very defective: —

Census Years.	White.			Negro.[1]		
	Number.	Per cent of Total.	Increase in Per cent.	Number.	Per cent of Total.	Increase in Per cent.
1790	3,172,006	80.73		757,208	19.27	
1800	4,306,446	81.12	35.76	1,002,037	18.88	32.33
1810	5,862,073	80.97	36.12	1,377,808	19.03	37.50
1820	7,862,166	81.61	34.12	1,771,656	18.39	28.59
1830	10,537,378	81.90	34.03	2,328,642	18.10	31.44
1840	14,195,805	83.16	34.72	2,873,648	16.84	23.40
1850	19,553,068	84.31	37.74	3,638,808	15.69	26.63
1860	26,922,537	85.62	37.69	4,441,830	14.13	22.07
1870	33,589,377	87.11	24.76	4,880,009	12.66	9.86
1880	43,402,970	86.54	29.22	6,580,793	13.12	34.85
1890	54,983,890	87.80	26.68	7,470,040	11.93	13.51

[1] Includes all persons of negro descent.

In the foregoing table the few Japanese, Chinese, and civilised Indians are included with negroes up to 1860; from 1860 they are entirely omitted. The numbers themselves are so small as not materially to interfere with any conclusions that may be drawn from the table. It shows that the proportion of persons of negro descent has diminished during each census period, with the exception of 1800–10. The negro element in 1790 constituted nearly one-fifth, and in 1890 less than one-eighth of the population.

Discarding the erroneous figures of 1870, the conclusion is that, with the exception of the decade from 1800 to 1810, the increase of the white population has been at a greater rate than that of the negro in every case, and that during the period from 1880 to 1890 the increase was nearly twice as rapid.

The greater sociological effects of the negro population in the South are easily seen by an examination of the facts tabulated on next page.

In the North Atlantic, the North Central, and Western divisions the proportion of the negro element has always been trifling, and has, on the whole, rather tended to decrease than to increase. Missouri is the only State in these groups that has ever contained any notable proportion of the negro element,

and here the proportion has diminished almost continuously from 13.20 per cent in 1850 to 5.61 per cent in 1890. Practically the negro element of the country is found in the South Atlantic and South Central divisions, the proportions being almost precisely the same in the South Atlantic division in 1790 as in 1890, while in the South Central division it has increased from 14.92 per cent in 1790 to 31.71 per cent in 1890.

The number of Chinese in the country has increased to only a trifling extent, from 105,465 in 1880 to 107,475 in 1890. The number in the Western division in the latter year was 96,844, and in 1880 it was 102,102. Of the total number of Chinese in the country in 1890 a little over two-thirds, or 72,472, were living in California, 9,540 were in Oregon, and the remainder were scattered widely over the country. There were 2,039 Japanese in the United States in 1890, more than half of whom were living in California. The diminution of North American Indians counted as part of the general population in 1890 from 66,407 enumerated in 1880 to 58,806 in 1890 has no meaning, since there is no fixed principle of test in the constitutional population.

PER CENT OF WHITES AND NEGROES[1] OF TOTAL POPULATION, BY GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS, 1850–1890.

Geographical Divisions.	1850.		1860.		1870.		1880.		1890.	
	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.
North Atlantic Division	98.26	1.74	96.53	1.47	98.52	1.46	98.39	1.58	98.89	1.55
South Atlantic Division	60.23	39.77	61.64	38.37	62.10	37.87	61.26	38.71	60.88	39.08
North Central Division	97.49	2.51	97.14	2.03	97.82	2.10	97.68	2.32	97.99	1.98
South Central Division	65.35	34.65	64.74	35.34	65.71	34.25	66.16	33.78	68.24	31.71
Western Division	99.31	0.69	88.15	0.72	91.91	0.64	91.21	0.67	91.80	0.89
The United States	84.31	15.69	85.62	14.13	87.11	12.66	86.54	13.12	87.80	11.93

[1] Includes all persons of negro descent.

32. Internal Migrations.

The migration of the people among the States constitutes an interesting question in connection with our population. A few facts may illustrate the constant change in geographical distribution. The native-born population of the United States in 1890 numbered 53,372,703, and constituted 85.23 per cent of the total population. Out of these only 41,871,611, or 78.45 per cent, or about three-fourths, were born in the State or Territory where they were living that year. In 1880 the corresponding percentage was 77.93. Adding the 9,249,547 foreign-born persons, we have 20,751,048 transplanted persons. When we consider the movement from country to city in the same State, it is safe to assert that more than a third of the Americans are living out of connection with the place where they were born.

The proportion of stay-at-homes among natives was, in the North Atlantic division of States, 87.53 per cent; in Maine, 95.16; and in Rhode Island, 74.88. In the South Atlantic division the proportion was 90.14, varying from 97.20 in South Carolina to 48.50 in the District of Columbia, and 68.98 in Florida.

In the North Central division the percentages ranged from 86.27 in Ohio to 35.01 in South Dakota, with an average of 69.93. In the South Central division the proportion was 78.98. Over four-fifths of the native-born persons living in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana were natives of those States; while in Texas and Arkansas the percentages were 65.80 and 59.25 respectively. In Oklahoma but 2.15 per cent of its native-born population were natives of that Territory, and they consisted mainly of young children born within the limits of that portion of the Indian Territory now known as Oklahoma, and open to settlement just prior to the census enumeration in June, 1890.

The States and Territories comprising the Western division, with the exception of New Mexico and Utah, contained in

1890 the smallest percentages of natives of the State or Territory where enumerated; in New Mexico 81.68 per cent, and in Utah 77.36 per cent; while the smallest percentages were 18.51 in Wyoming, and 20.91 in Washington.

In the Eastern States there was not much change in these conditions between 1880 and 1890; for the native-born elements of the population are not subject to violent fluctuation. The proportion in more recently settled States, however, increased during the ten years between the last two enumerations. The percentage of persons born in the State where enumerated in 1890, for the whole country, was larger. The coloured people wander less than the white, for 84.52 per cent of them live in their native State, against 77.46 per cent for the white. In the South Central division the percentages of white and coloured who were born in the State where enumerated were about the same as for the country at large, except that in 1880 the percentage of coloured was only 79.56 as against 84.02 for the whole country.

Part II.

Units of Social Organism.

CHAPTER V.

SOCIAL UNITS.

33. References.

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§ lviii; William S. Waudby, *Mutual Relief Associations in Printing Trade*, in United States Department of Labour, *Bulletin* 19.

34. Tendency to Association.

Every organisation in society consists of individual units, and these units must be brought into some relationship with each other before the lowest form of the social unit can be created. The total population of the United States might be distributed over the area thereof in such a way that there would be no society. There must be social relations — the association of individuals in some form and for a purpose — before society can exist or be enduring. The individual units are of infinite variety, and by their very constitution — that is, by their human nature — they seek association, not only for the gratification of social desires, but for purposes of growth, advancement, defence, and social force, aims which the individual alone cannot gratify.

It is almost impossible to conceive of a state in which the independence of the individual unit is preserved. The lowest forms of civilisation, even conditions representing the very lowest forms of human life, comprehend some social relations that take the individual out of his unit character. In some cases the lowest savages may seem to preserve individual independence; yet on close examination it is found no one lives in himself or for himself. Man is endowed with psychic as well as with mental and intellectual characteristics, and the force of that psychic nature compels him to seek relations with other units. It is this universal tendency that creates social relations, out of which grow all the organisations of society. Many writers contend that society is of itself an organism, having various members, like the human body; but it is unlike the human body in that the several members of the latter have separate and distinct functions that co-ordinate with other functions, while society, as an organism, consists of members endowed with similar characteristics, and hence of like functions. The body is not made up of a hundred fingers, and has not a dozen hearts. While the individual

members, therefore, of the social organism, so called, may have, generally speaking, like characteristics, they are not equally developed, nor are the functions of the different members of equal force and importance.

35. The Family.

Of this tendency to association and to seek social relations — a tendency based on the psychic force of man — the first result is the family. It is not necessary here to discuss the theory of the family; we accept it as a fact, and consider it as one of the social units of society as it exists. It is more than this; it must be considered as the crucial social unit, — "the very keystone of society," — for it results from that happy association of the sexes by which the human species is perpetuated and extended, by which the affections are developed, and by which the interest which compels one unit to protect, preserve, and cherish another is fostered. It should be the purpose of society, as a whole, to protect the sacredness and integrity of that relation. Without the family unit no other social units would be possible; it brings the individual out of his seclusion into ethical relations, constitutes him a living evolutionary force, lifts him out of intensive selfishness to a more extensive selfishness, for in the family relation he must live for others, although in living for others he may live for his own higher enjoyment. The purpose of the individual unit in entering social relations and in inviting the force of association is to secure happiness. He may be well fed, warmed, and clothed while in the disintegrated state of the individual, but in such state he can have no realisation of the happiness which comes from appreciation of and service to others. Hence the family grows out of the psychic tendencies of men, and is perhaps the best demonstration of the highest aspirations of the individual. It is found under every condition of population, whether living in savagery, in barbarous, or in civilised communities. It is the fundamental unit of civilised society.

36. Size of Families.

Much is said of late about the menace to which the family is exposed through the complications of modern society; and the striking decrease in the average size of the modern family, a tendency which seems to be the result of highly developed civilisation, is a source of some alarm. There is a restriction of births, resulting from an increased responsibility, or, more correctly, from a higher appreciation of true responsibility, and hence the oldtime, numerous family gives way under modern conditions in all civilised countries to a smaller family; and it is contended by many sociologists that this is an indication, not of degeneration, nor of a tendency to the disintegration of the family, but to a better realising sense of the nature of the family, and of the responsibility of the father and mother to bring up well and to develop a small family rather than to neglect a large one. This is very delicate and very debatable ground, and the facts are not yet complete enough to warrant any positive and demonstrable conclusion. The writer once stated that a small family well cared for was a greater honour to God than a large one neglected; the result was a severe attack upon him for "advocating prenatal murder." Nevertheless, it must be conceded that if a decrease in infant mortality is the result of more concentrated care upon the few, then the smaller family is more effective in society than a larger one neglected; certain it is that the average duration of human life has been increased at least 10 per cent under modern civilisation. Such result leads to the conclusion that the health and the welfare of the individual units composing the family are now better cared for and better protected than they were formerly. It is true that foreign-born parents have families larger than natives; but it is also true that as our foreign-born assimilate with our own population the size of their families diminishes slightly, and after a generation or two the proportions are fairly equal.

The relative size of the families of this country is ascertain-

able since 1850, when for the whole country it was 5.55. In 1860 it was 5.28; in 1870, 5.09; in 1880, 5.04; and in 1890, the latest year for which facts are obtainable, it was 4.93, a decrease in the forty years of 11.17 per cent. The variation in the size of families by geographical divisions offers some interesting considerations. The decrease in the North Atlantic States was from 5.45 in 1850 to 4.69 in 1890; in the South Atlantic division, from 5.61 to 5.25; in the North Central division, from 5.69 to 4.86; in the South Central division, from 5.70 to 5.30; while in the Western division, which comprises the mining States and the frontier, where recent settlements have taken place, as might naturally be supposed, there was an increase in the size of the family from 4.18 in 1850 to 4.88 in 1890. In the early days of western settlement, where many single men engaged in mining or agriculture, while the other members of the family remained at home, it was natural that the average family should be small; for instance, in Montana the average family rose from 2.92 in 1870 to 3.94 in 1880, and to 4.81 in 1890, almost equalling the average size of the family in the whole country (4.93) in the same year.

Curiously enough, on examining the statistics for Utah, where polygamy formerly prevailed, we find that the average size of the family in 1850 was 4.90, or less than in the whole country; and in 1890 it was 5.36, only a little larger than the South Central division. The figures for Utah are equalled or surpassed by several other States; for instance, in Mississippi it is 5.35; in Alabama, 5.27; in Tennessee, 5.29; in Kentucky, 5.24; North Carolina, 5.27; West Virginia, 5.43; Virginia, 5.44; in the District of Columbia, 5.24. The large coloured families in most of the States named may account for the high average, although Minnesota has 5.25. The population of the West has increased rapidly, and is naturally coming more and more to the family basis, instead of that of single individuals or young couples. This is evidenced by the fact that the average size of the family has risen steadily in the Western division of States from 4.18 in 1850 to 4.88 in 1890.

The small average size of the family in the new Territory of Oklahoma shows the tendency to very small families in new settlements; but as Oklahoma becomes more densely populated the size of the family will increase for a time, and then will follow the rule of older communities. American population tends also to become more urban in character, and hence a constantly diminishing average will probably be shown at each succeeding census. A study of one hundred of the principal cities of the country having a population of 25,000 or more shows with but few exceptions a decrease in the average size of the family from 1880 to 1890. The exceptions are chiefly in the South and West, where the cities have about the same status as the rural communities. In New York City the average size of the family has decreased from 4.96 in 1880 to 4.84 in 1890, while in Chicago the decrease has been from 5.19 to 4.99 during the same period.[1] The average size of the family, in Massachusetts, was 5.76 in 1790 and 4.67 in 1890.

It would be interesting to know how many children had been born to every woman married or now divorced. In the Massachusetts census of 1885 some figures were given which showed that foreign-born mothers were more prolific than native-born mothers, while it was shown also that the number of children of foreign-born mothers decreased relative to the time they had lived in this country. The general results, considered on broad grounds, indicated that the mothers having purely native parentage show relatively a slightly greater proportion of their children living than the mothers of purely foreign parentage.

37. The Integrity of the Family.

Though the decrease in the size of the family for the whole country from 1850 to 1890 is not necessarily alarming, in view of all the disturbing elements which have come in during that time, yet it is sufficiently great to lead to many arguments in favour of the conclusion that the family is disintegrating;

[1] Eleventh Census, Report on Population, Part I. p. cxcv.

in fact, in Edmond Kelly's valuable "Evolution and Effort," recently published, there is found the statement that "the family, which is the basis of our civilisation, is gradually breaking up." With all due recognition of the facts in the case, this is an exceedingly strong statement, well calculated to frighten the timid and lead to very pessimistic conclusions. The laxity of marriage laws, the frequency of divorce, the tendency to late marriage on account of social environment, the desire of parents to secure the best possible standing for their children, — all these, taken in connection with some phases of modern industry, unite to reduce the size of the family. That this tendency is great enough to constitute a menace or threaten disintegration cannot be conceded; for individual responsibility, the struggle for a higher and a purer life, the devotion of men and women to the welfare of other men and women, the efforts in the direction of rational culture, are rather strengthened than weakened in the present half-century. There are always people without character or without sufficient character to enable them to support a family within their means; and their ambition or their disposition to gauge human welfare by bank accounts may lead them into abnormal relations, which occasion disaster to true family relations. It must be recognised, however, that under the modern family conditions there is a truer, higher, more cordial respect and companionship existing among all the members of the family than under the old puritanical environment, in which the children were held in a state of fear, and almost of servitude. Samuel Sewall's children were evidently panic-stricken by their father's well-meant conversation. The child of judicious parents to-day has a real companionable affection for his parents, — an affection which leads to the highest form of respect. The real relations of father and mother on the one hand and children on the other have undergone great changes in the last generation. The stern parent secured obedience, but it was a government of fear. In America such relations are now little known among educated people: there

is often too much indulgence and too little respect for authority; but the ideal family government is one of loving obedience, a far more honourable and desirable ideal. The real integrity of the family is not menaced; the decrease in size may be accounted for rationally, and the family will ever remain in all conditions of society its true unit and its keystone. It is the natural, most truly religious social unit, and by its very conditions stimulates the highest social service of its members, leads each and every one to consider the welfare and the happiness of others, and establishes what Drummond has called the purest forms of "other selfishness" in contradistinction to the low forms of selfishness. Family life, when lived under true conditions, leads to the establishment of the very best and most useful instrumentalities by which society grows, and by which it recognises the wants and the purposes of the individual units.

38. The Church.

One of the earliest offices of the family was in the direction of religious service. The patriarch demanded of his household not only obedience to himself, but the worship of God. Such is still the type of religion in China. When several families recognised a unity of religious ceremonials, it was very natural that they should combine and conduct their worship at stated periods and independently of family worship. Out of the aspiration for more public recognition of this feature of family life grew the organisation of the church, and as individuals differ, and as aims differ, on account of variation in characteristics, mental powers, and temperaments, the form of church organisation has been varied, and the beliefs have varied, almost as extensively as the varying characteristics. The church has been typical of the individual, and typical of the family also, — typical of the individual in the variety of creeds, forms, and ceremonies; typical of the family in the endeavour to reach solidarity and present the strength of numbers as a force in carrying out the purposes for which the church was organised.

As the members of a family were of course expected to have the same ceremonial, so the fundamental idea of the church was for ages that all members of the community should be a part of it. State and church coincided, not because one controlled the other, but because they were identical in the persons composing them, and in the authority which regulated them. In the United States there has been from the foundation of the colonies a different conception, — that there might be various religious beliefs and organisations in the same political community. Hence through the very force of the principles which governed the early settlers, there is to be found great variety in the character of church organisations.

The cause of this variety in the United States is to be accounted for very largely by the fact that the settlement of the country was by dissenters, so far as the Northern colonies were concerned, and that since the Revolution there has been no State religion, though there have been some State-supplied churches; hence the inhabitants did not feel bound to follow any prescribed form of worship. The very principles of Protestantism led them into varied communions and induced them to adopt different theological tenets. The governments always fostered perfect freedom in church matters; and while for many years there was very strict adherence to certain fundamental tenets, nevertheless the shadings of thought were varied, and sometimes very great in degree. The influence of immigration also tended to a wide divergence of theological views. The schools were not allowed to teach any particular doctrine; the very institutions of the country were against a settled, fixed faith. The opportunity of inquiry existed, and any man could teach what seemed to him to be right, and was sure to find followers. It is perfectly natural, therefore, that the United States presents a great variety of religious and theological organisations.

As to the relative strength of the various churches in this country, we have no very precise information. In the census of 1890 the general facts were collected; statistics were

gathered which, if not absolutely correct, are valuable in considering the denominational tendencies of the people.[1] According to the census of 1890, there were 143 separate denominations specified, besides 231 independent Lutheran congregations and 156 other independent congregations; 165,177 different church organisations; 111,036 ministers, and 20,612,806 communicants or members. The number of edifices was 142,521, with a seating capacity of 43,564,863. This number, however, includes an approximate duplication of 2,800,000 on account of the use of the same place of worship by more than one congregation; but in addition there were 23,334 halls, schoolhouses, including some private houses, with a seating capacity of 2,450,858, occupied as places of worship by organisations having no church edifices of their own. The value of the church property was $679,630,139. One-third of the total population of the United States in 1890 were communicants or members of churches, while the seating capacity of the edifices was sufficient to accommodate more than two-thirds of the whole population at one time if fully occupied.

The great influence of churches on society at large, and even upon the legislation of the country, must be recognised. While the Federal constitution and most of the State constitutions do not recognize any church organisation, or even the existence of God, they are, nevertheless, framed on the basis of a Christian government; in fact, a constitutional State must be a Christian State, and while, as we have seen, there is a great variety of denominational orders and many phases of theological belief, the people as a whole are ready to co-operate on the great essential features of a religious life, and this co-operation is reflected in marked degree in the constitutions and laws of the country.

[1] Report on Churches, Eleventh Census.

39. Church Government.

There is great variety in the form of church government, ranging from the hierarchical form of the Catholic Church to the free and independent methods adopted by Congregational churches; in some cases two religious bodies having substantially the same doctrine, as the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians, differ in church government; or two bodies with a similar form of a government may differ widely in doctrine: thus, the Protestant Episcopal Church has an organisation akin to that of the English Church; the Methodist Episcopal Church has a similar organisation, with much emphasis on the lay element. The Baptists, Congregationalists, Unitarians, Universalists, and many other bodies acknowledge the authority of no ecclesiastical power higher than each single church, though they assemble in consultative bodies.

The word "church" and the word "parish" are often used in the United States as synonymous, although a "parish" is in New England the business organisation, while the church is the spiritual body within the parish. The officers of the "parish" or "society" take care of all temporal affairs, control property, etc.; while the spiritual organisation known as the "church" admits members who are professors of the particular faith of the denomination involved. The term "parish" more generally belongs to the Congregational churches of all kinds, which are found in the East more largely than in any other part of the country. Every church organisation, or at least every important denominational body, has some central board that attends to its general business affairs, — such as the distribution of literature pertaining to the particular denomination, and those orders which do much in the way of home and foreign missions have boards or committees of a national character especially authorised to carry on the work committed to them, and acknowledge a responsibility to the church assembly. In the Catholic Church the spiritual authority of the church is exercised through bishops appointed by the head of the church

in Rome, and the title to all property is vested in the same bishops.

The Lutherans, while preserving something of some phases of the Catholic faith, have become more republican in their government, adopting a council or a synod for the government of their organisations, although that of the congregations differs somewhat in the various bodies. Usually there is a church council composed of lay elders and deacons, or sometimes of the deacons alone and the pastor, which council is charged with the administration of its affairs. The Presbyterians probably have the most systematic form of church government of any Protestant order in the United States, the lowest body being known as the sessions, governing individual congregations; the next higher body is the presbytery, then the synod, and finally the general assembly, there being in some instances appellate jurisdiction from the one to the other. The Episcopal Church has its bishops, and some ecclesiastical power is vested in them. A Methodist-Episcopal church government is a combination of the Episcopal forms and the Congregationalist. Nearly all other denominations conform more closely to the Congregational methods, under which each church governs its own affairs, the conferences, assemblies, etc., being practically advisory boards rather than governments. While the Southern colonies were settled more especially by people coming from the Church of England, and conforming in their church organisations to that body, nevertheless as time has gone on, the influences of denominational variety have been felt; so that to-day the same general characteristics are to be found there that are met with in other parts of the Union.

40. Secular Societies.

It is very natural that there should be found many societies of a secular nature, and having a very great variety of purposes. It would be impossible to enumerate such organisations; but most of them — all of them, in fact — have been organised for the purpose of benefiting a group or groups of people. There are socie-

ties whose purpose it is to develop scientific and philosophical research, or the musical and literary taste of the people, to secure intellectual or material benefits of all kinds; for the propagation of special ideas of reform, for counteracting and overcoming evils, for the advancement of social desires, and for almost every conceivable purpose for which a band of devotees might organise. It is impossible to give data comprehending all such units. Statistics exist, however, by which the strength, purpose, and achievements of certain classes of societies may be ascertained,[1] and mention may be made of a few of the most important of these.

Among the secret societies the various orders of Free Masons are perhaps the oldest in this country. The Masonic Grand Lodges embrace, according to the latest account (that for 1897), 802,282 members; and the Odd Fellows, another secret order, numbered 804,557. These great orders have for their object mutual aid and the cultivation of social qualities. The Knights of Pythias, another secret order, has 469,291 members. All these orders have connected with them certain beneficiary functions; for instance, the Odd Fellows expended for the year ending December 31, 1896, $3,393,235 in relieving members and widowed families, in the education of orphans, and in burying the dead. The order of the Knights of Honour has disbursed in benefits since its organisation in 1873 more than $60,000,000, and the Royal Arcanum over $40,000,000 since 1877. The Ancient Order of United Workmen has paid in benefits since its organisation in 1873 nearly $80,000,000; the Ancient Order of Foresters disburses nearly $5,000,000 each year; the Catholic Knights of America, founded in 1877, has expended in benefits since its organisation over $7,000,000, and during its last fiscal year paid out nearly $700,000 as benefits to its members. The various fraternal organisations embrace over 5,000,000 members.

There are many societies organised for reform purposes,

[1] For many valuable details of various societies, see current almanacs, especially that published by the New York "World."

like the Independent Order of Good Templars, with a membership of nearly 400,000, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, embracing nearly half a million.

Among the religious or semi-religious societies, which cannot be classed as churches, must be mentioned the Baptist Young People's Union of America; the Young People's Christian Union, with nearly 75,000 members; the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, with a membership of over 3,000,000; the Young Men's Christian Association, with a membership of nearly 250,000; the Young Woman's Christian Association, with 35,000 active members; and the Epworth League, with nearly 1,700,000 members. In addition to these there are the King's Daughters and Sons, the Daughters of the King, the Brotherhood of Saint Andrew and Philip, the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, the White Cross Society, the Christian Science societies, the Theosophical Society of America, etc.

Nearly every phase of scientific work is represented by a society organised by the most learned teachers. Among the more important of these organisations may be mentioned the National Academy of Sciences, exceedingly limited and exclusive in its membership, and an honour to this country and to science itself; the Association for the Advancement of Science; the American Social Science Association; the National Educational Association; the American Economic Association; the American Historical Association; the American Statistical Association; the biological, anthropological, and many other societies working along the lines of their respective sciences. The literary and historical societies are perhaps the most numerous of all. In all the States and large cities there are such organisations devoted to the work of securing original historical data and developing a love for the study of history. The enumeration of such societies alone and of their publications fills a large volume issued by the American Historical Association.

41. Patriotic Societies.

Then there is a great group of societies usually designated as patriotic organisations, whose purpose is to stimulate the sentiment of patriotism and to preserve in memory the deeds of the fathers. In nearly all of them would-be members must prove their connection with certain events or prove descent from certain classes or races of persons. Among the more important societies of this kind are the Society of Mayflower Descendants, the Huguenot Society of America, various Irish national organisations, Society of Colonial Wars, and the Society of the Cincinnati, which is composed of the lineal descendants of the officers of the Revolution, the Sons of the Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, the objects of these two being practically the same, — to keep alive among the members and their descendants the patriotic spirit of the men who in military, naval, or civil service, by their acts or counsel, achieved American independence. Their purpose also is to collect and secure for preservation manuscripts, rolls, records, and other documents relating to the War of the Revolution and to promote intercourse and good feeling among its members now and hereafter. There are also The Military Order of Foreign Wars, including hereditary companions; the Naval Order of the United States, consisting of officers and descendants of officers who served in the navy and marine corps; and the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, which follows the general plan of the Society of the Cincinnati, embracing in its membership officers and ex-officers of the army, navy, and marine corps of the United States who took part in the Civil War of 1861–65, membership descending to the eldest direct male lineal descendant, in accordance with the rules of primogeniture. The Grand Army of the Republic is on a broader scale than that of the Loyal Legion, and its membership is open to all who served in the Civil War and who were honourably discharged. This order now embraces about 320,000 members.

Among other orders are the National Association of Naval Veterans, the Regular Army and Navy Union, and the Sons of War Veterans, Sons of Veterans, Union Veteran Legion, Union Veterans' Union, and the societies of different army corps engaged in the Civil War, Comrades of the Battlefield, etc.; and now comes, as a result of the war with Spain, The Society of the Army of Santiago de Cuba.

Congress has recognised the military societies of the country by a joint resolution approved September, 1890, which provides "that the distinctive badges adopted by military societies of men who served in the armies and navies of the United States in the War of the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the War of the Rebellion, respectively, may be worn upon all occasions of ceremony by officers and enlisted men of the army and navy of the United States who are members of said organisations in their own right."

The Confederate veterans have also organised societies, the avowed purpose of which is strictly social, literary, historical, and beneficial. The Confederate Veterans' motto is to perpetuate the memories, but not the animosities of the Civil War. There is also another organisation, the United Sons of Confederate Veterans.

The women of the country have not been slow in organising patriotic societies, among the most important of which are Colonial Dames of America, Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Daughters of the Revolution, the two latter societies being practically alike, the Dames of the Revolution, United Daughters, 1812, Mount Vernon Ladies Association, and some others.

42. Clubs.

Akin to the organisations already mentioned is another group or series of organisations known as clubs, chiefly organised for common social purposes, but centres for the discussion of the problems of the day, and often engaged in active work of reform. The so-called "house clubs" have become in the

United States an important part of the social life of the well-to-do, but many vigorous clubs have no property, and their club life is confined to social or business meetings. In many cases they are made up of specific trades or industries, or callings in life, such as the Merchants' Clubs, Commercial Clubs, the Paint and Oil Clubs, the Arkwright Clubs, consisting of textile manufacturers and dealers. All these organisations exert a very great influence in society, and especially in political matters. They help to form public opinion on many important questions, and are a very great power in the country, even though organised ostensibly for social purposes. In several large cities there are to be found the Union or Union League Clubs, which had a great influence during and after the Civil War as centres of patriotic organisation.

The women of the country have organised clubs on the general principles described above, and devote themselves to social and literary work with an admirable assiduity and sense of duty. There is now a chain of women's clubs organised in the Federation of Women's Clubs, consisting of more than 2,200 organisations, with an estimated membership of over 125,000. These organisations are taking up many of the practical questions of life. At their meetings they discuss social economics, ethical relations, and the best means of enlightening and edifying their members.

The working girls of large cities have of late years organised themselves in club form, having for their purposes the betterment of their condition. They are more philosophical than aggressive; but they are quietly making their influence felt, and in many ways seek the uplifting of their members. They hold an annual national convention, where they present their views of the social, moral, and economic conditions in their respective communities. In all the present earnest and widespread endeavour after a true social unity, no movement counts for more than that of the Working Girls' Associations; they recognise the principle of social exchange, — that every one has something to give as well as to receive; they contribute

the priceless gift of the inspiration which comes from the courage, the hopefulness, and the joy of those who are reaching toward higher things. They recognise also the principle of social education, for each benefits by the influence of some individual who brings into the group the better manners, the surer knowledge, the truer purpose. They are making unselfishness more of a habit; they give the natural opportunity to do for others, which, if lacking, cannot help us to get out of ourselves.

Another group of centres of social organisation is in the clubs, to be found in many States and cities, made up of graduates of a particular college, or of persons from a particular State.

43. Benevolent Associations.

A very large part of the charity work of the country, as well as the philanthropic and benevolent undertakings, is in charge of societies. Churches, of course, are important instrumentalities in all charitable and philanthropic work, but the great organisations in our large cities, known as Associated Charities, have undertaken the systematic dispensation of charity, with a view to seeing that all assistance is given worthily. There is a National Conference of Charities, which discusses the best means of conducting charitable work, the relief of the unemployed, and every feature and phase of philanthropy, and issues an annual report of its sessions. Many of the States have Boards of State Charities, official bodies which work under the law.

In many localities there are Prison Associations, made up of volunteers who organise for the purpose of aiding discharged convicts; and these bodies send representatives to a national association. There is also a volunteer body known as the Prison Congress, which undertakes to shape public opinion relative to criminology and penology and the best methods of

[1] Cf. Address of President William J. Tucker at Second National Convention of Working Girls' Clubs in the United States, Boston, 1894.

employing prisoners. The exchange of views, and the circulation of information about new methods and results in these societies and their publications, is one of the strongest forces toward social reform.

44. Labour Organisations.

There is another class of social units to which attention should be called. They are both social and industrial units, and consist of the organisation of wage-earners into societies or clubs, known as trades-unions, or other kindred bodies. Trades-unionism is not a new thing in the world; it has existed for a period long prior to the Christian era; it flourished under the Roman Empire, and was the basis of mediæval industrial organisation, but its development in modern times has been along different lines and determined by the modern system of industry. In England the institution of trades-unions has been longest established, and is most effective, but it is also firmly rooted in the United States. A trades-union is an organisation comprising the members of a single trade, like the Spinners' Union, the Iron Moulders' Union, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, divided into local bodies or unions. Many of these unions are represented in a national body, known as the American Federation of Labour, the total number of members in the affiliated local unions being nearly 650,000. This national order was organised December, 1886, though it had several predecessors, under various names. The great railway brotherhood organisations, known as the Order of Railway Conductors, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, and Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, are the principal powerful unions not affiliated with the American Federation of Labour.

The object of the Federation is the encouragement and formation of local trades and labour unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organisation of central trades-unions in every State; and the further combination of such bodies into State, territorial, or provincial organisations, to

the end that legislation in the interest of the working masses may be secured. It is in no sense a secret order, nor is it an order which claims the individual allegiance of members; it is thoroughly democratic and representative in its character. It is not a centralised power, but a federation; it strives for the unification of all labour, and encourages local organisations in securing more stable wages and employment, and in the education of its members in economic conditions.

The usual demand of trades-unions, local or national, is a reduction of the hours of labour, commonly to eight hours as a day's work; they favour obligatory education of all children and the prohibition of their employment under certain ages; they favour the enactment of uniform franchise laws; they oppose contract convict labour, and often urge the prohibition of the importation of foreign labourers; they work against the truck system for payment of wages; they insist upon the abrogation of all so-called conspiracy laws,[1] and of the system of contracts for public work; they favour the adoption by States of employers' liability acts.

Another large society or order involving working men and women is the Knights of Labour, organised in Philadelphia in 1869. This body not only strives for the usual purposes of trades-unions; it goes beyond, by the endeavour to unify wage-earners without regard to the trades followed; it recognises local assemblies of distinct trades, to be sure, but also admits mixed assemblies, embracing different trades, and represented in the national body. The professed aim of the Knights of Labour is to secure the fullest enjoyment of wealth, which they claim is created by workers; leisure for the development of their intellectual, moral, and social faculties; and all the benefits, recreations, and pleasures which come of association; and they have ever been ready to join in any movement which will enable them to share in the gains and honour of advancing civilisation. The Knights of Labour have purposes rather

[1] See title "Conspiracy," in chapter xvi., on Questions Relating to Strikes and Lockouts.

more socialistic than those of most trades-unionists, inasmuch as they demand legislation which shall secure municipal control of various services and industries, the adoption of the referendum in State legislation, and similar radical changes. The Knights of Labour claim a membership of about 100,000.

A few years ago an organisation known as the American Railway Union was created, and showed its power in the great Chicago strike of 1894. It has now given place to a society or body known as the Social Democracy of America, whose demands include the public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts, and combines; of all railroad, telegraph, and telephone communication; of all means of transportation; of all water-works, gas and electric light plants, and all other public utilities. The membership of this most recent order is not known at present.

Many labour organisations, especially the local unions connected with the Typographical Union, and some others, have benefit features, under which they provide for relief in case of the sickness of members, and burial funds in case of death.

In addition to the orders above mentioned there are many local organisations on the general plan of the trades-unions, and including the combination of work people with a view to bettering their conditions. Labour organisations will grow and become more powerful as capital becomes more concentrated, and the present method of production under the great aggregate system becomes more extended. These trade and labour societies, under whatever name, are powerful social units; their stability and tenure depend upon the recognition of the moral force which lies within their power, and the intelligence with which they perform their part as members of the body politic. The similarity of their organisation to that of the political organisations of the country is very striking. They have units consisting of local bodies, district and state organisations, and finally a federal or national body, consisting of delegates from the lower units. In some cases the national body has a positive executive function and voice in the work of the local unions,

while in some of the organisations, especially the American Federation of Labour, it can only suggest. Nearly every such society deprecates resort to strikes, but when they consider strikes inevitable they are usually ready to aid in carrying out the purpose involved. They are closely akin to the other social units that have been considered, and must be reckoned among the most important industrial and social forces of the time.

45. Legal Obligations of Social Units.

It should be remembered that all the associations considered under social units are volunteer bodies. They must, however, conduct their work in thorough obedience to law. They cannot in any way contravene existing statutory regulations, and it has never been the purpose of any of them to override the legal conditions of society as established by legislatures and the courts. These societies, clubs, bodies, — whatever they may be called, — as a rule, have their own constitutions and by-laws, which govern their membership and their actions. Many of them are incorporated under the laws of the State where they exist, or under federal laws. A great advantage of incorporation is that the societies become persons in the eye of the law, and can sue and be sued, and hold property, and do all those things which an individual can do under the regulations relating to incorporations; and the liability of members of incorporated societies is limited by the law. Individuals associated together, and members of societies that do not seek incorporation are, as a rule, individually liable for the debts of the association to which they belong, like partners in a general copartnership. As a condition of the special privileges of incorporated societies, the State may, and usually does, reserve the right to require publication of their financial operations and conformity to restrictions in their methods of doing business.

46. The Influence of Societies.

It would be interesting to know the entire membership of all these societies, but it would be impossible to obtain such a

result, as many persons are to be found in various societies, thus duplicating and triplicating members. So in the secret orders and military orders many men belong to several; but it is reasonable to say that, taking them all together, they comprise at least as large a membership as that contained in the churches of all denominations. The aims of most of these societies are ethical in their nature, and they do a vast amount of good in a quiet way by making men acquainted, by aiding the suffering, and by strengthening the sentiment of common weal.

It will be seen by this brief account of a few of the principal organisations and clubs that society is completely honeycombed by such organisations. Never in the history of the world have the people been so fully engaged in organised work along every conceivable line as at the present time. This fact shows the universal application of the principle of association: we have learned that only by organised effort can much influence be exerted in the shaping of public sentiment and opinion. The question is, Will the expansion continue, and will the system be exerted in the future, as at present, for the uplifting of the race? Other countries have worked along the same lines, especially those speaking the English language, but all civilisations at present are finding the best opportunities for individual activity of the highest form in societies which have specific aims. If each recognises the duty and the opportunity of the others, their work will be harmonious, ethical, and beneficial; if the method results in clannishness, exclusiveness, or the endeavour to propagate ideas that are not ethical, not only will disaster come to the societies and clubs themselves, but great harm will come to society at large.

CHAPTER VI.

POLITICAL UNITS.

47. References.

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48. The State.

Even among savages social units are restrained and limited by a complex organisation which in its highest form has many phases and functions, but which in its entirety is summed up in the term "the state" or "the nation." We must not, however, confound the words "state" and "nation" with the word "government." The state or the nation is the people living within certain geographical limits, and though there may be

certain distinctions between the two words, for the purposes of this discussion they are synonymous. They represent a body of people having, in general, like sentiments, feelings, and aims, to carry out which they originate some organic law which provides for ministers or officers, and they constitute the government, which is but the agent of the people in executing the laws they have ordained.

The State can change its organic law, but the government cannot, although it can suggest changes in the law under which it acts and by which it carries out the aims of the people; but the suggested changes cannot be made without the direction of the people or their representatives. The solidity and the stability of the organic law, therefore, rest with the people of the nation under most forms of government, while the efficiency of the execution of the laws rests with the government, the people's agent. Under various forms the people can change the ministers which constitute the government, either through the action of the monarch or through the elective franchise.

There are various kinds of States, embodying pure democracies, where the laws are made by the people through a direct vote and are executed by their agents; oligarchies, where the laws are made by a small aristocratic class claiming to be the legal people; monarchies, where the government is in the hands of a single individual, whose actions are restrained more or less by the laws, customs, and traditions of the State over which he presides, some monarchies having written constitutions which guide the legislation or the decrees that are crystallised into law, but more generally what are known as the constitutions of monarchies are not written but are found in the body of legislation regulating the government; republics, which are democratic in principle, but whose laws are made by representatives chosen by the people, thus securing the strength of a democracy through the direct choice of the individual units of their ministers and agents, the governments of the various States of the Union being an exemplification of

this form; federations, which consist of an association of States, with a general or imperial government which has certain functions and powers relative to all the units of the federation.

49. Sovereignty.

The form of a State, however, is not the characteristic of most importance, for social exigencies are now constantly asking, What can the State do? and the conception of the extent of the power of the State is summed up in the single term "sovereignty." In every true State there is a sovereign power, which represents the social conscience and must necessarily be the servant of the social will. The most perfected church organisation needs, not a guide perhaps, but a committee to take care of its affairs; so it is difficult to conceive of a community in which there will be no necessity for anybody delegated to perform ministerial acts. A perfected State will always need some minister of the law, whose duty it will be to expend the money of the people, see that all social regulations are enforced, that educational interests are developed, and that all moral and ethical relations are stimulated and encouraged. These are the things which the people themselves want carried out. This sovereignty is with them, and does not lie in the artificial organisation which society creates. Most people would find it difficult to prevent their minds from reaching out to the source of all power and giving to the nation a commission for its existence higher than that which it receives from the individual components thereof: but this idea need not antagonise the material source of sovereignty, — the will of the people, — or antagonise the recognition of the source from which the parent in dealing with his child derives his power, a power from which the conscience emanates, whether in public or in private action.

50. Ordinary Units of Government.

In the administrative affairs of the State it has been found convenient for ages to subdivide the powers of government

among at least three or more sets of appliances corresponding to three or more degrees of central subdivision. It would be unwieldy and quite impossible for any general government representing large groups to undertake the detailed execution of law or the management of minor affairs. The central government is too far removed from the ordinary business interests of the people to warrant any such function; so under the Roman Empire there were the imperial government, the provinces, and the municipalities, each of which had fairly well-defined offices to perform in the general management of Roman affairs. In France there are the republic, the departments, and the communes; in England, the kingdom, the shires, and the parishes and boroughs; in Germany, the imperial government, the states, and the municipalities, while in the United States we have the federal government, states, counties, towns or townships, and cities. So most countries have various forms of government, from that which is charged with local administration to the central government, which has certain supervisory powers of legislation and the execution of law governing the whole. Consequently, in the various countries of the world the social functions are very differently subdivided; as, for instance, public education is in France a matter for national supervision; in Germany and the United States, it is reserved for the commonwealths and municipalities; in England, chiefly for local bodies. It is not the purpose of this work to discuss the make-up of all the various forms of governments, but simply to show how far in the United States the settlement of social questions is left to one or the other of the divisions of the government; and the influence of each division in keeping social order, in developing the people, in improving conditions, and in caring for health and general welfare.

51. Local Political Units in the United States.

In the United States, as a general principle, the local units of government have no independent, self-constituted, or unalterable authority; they are created by State laws, are amenable

to alterations by law, and may be swept away altogether and replaced by a different kind of unit. Nevertheless, in practice there are three or four units with which the community is so familiar that they continue from period to period, or even from century to century, with little change, and it is therefore to these agencies that most law-making and execution of law are committed.

The principal units of this kind are the school district, town, township, parish, village or borough, the city, and the county. We need not discuss at any length some of the smaller units, especially school districts, villages, and boroughs. The school district is simply a geographical division of a town or township, having a committee elected by the inhabitants of the district, whose sole power is in providing for the school or schools within the district, expending in their administration such amounts of money as the town or township may authorise. These districts are now losing their importance, but in the past they have had a social influence which cannot be ignored, and which still exists wherever the school district is found.

The village or borough is but a concentration of people within a town or township, usually having no administrative or executive functions, and no officers for its immediate government; yet in some parts of the United States the village has a separate government in certain minor affairs. Another series of political units are the administrative districts known as bits, supervisors' districts, commissioners', election, justices', and voting precincts, etc. There are also judicial townships, towns, hundreds, militia districts, magisterial and civil districts, police jury wards, plantations, grants, purchases, and gores. In addition to these, there are municipal incorporations, known as cities, towns, villages, and boroughs, each of which in certain cases embrace one or more minor civil divisions or parts thereof, while some are independent of them and others are contained in and are parts of them for all purposes of government or for sanitary and police regulation. The real governmental function which can be described belongs to the town or township, or city.

52. The Town or Township.

The word "township" should not be confused with the division of the public domain under Federal land laws, and especially in the newer States and Territories, where the township so-called is simply a territorial subdivision made by the intersection of meridians and parallels six miles apart and containing thirty-six square miles; such a subdivision is not a political unit in any sense, but the town or township, as incorporated by the legislature of a State, is a political unit, although of the lowest form which exercises sovereignty in any degree. It is the general primary political unit in our form of government, although in Virginia and many other States the county exercises practically the same power, and is the primary unit. This distinction grew out of the difficulties attending the original settlement of different parts of the United States; as, for instance, in Virginia the disposition of the settlers was to establish plantations far apart, thus creating by the very nature of things a landed aristocracy. There were no clusters of dwellings, hence the county, representing a number of plantations, became the natural political unit; it had its board of magistrates, its militia and military commander, appointed by the governor. The county was not a group of minor settlements or towns, as in England; it was more in the nature of a parish; it had a county seat, where the courts held sessions, and was in the early days a powerful political factor in shaping the events which led to the building of the State itself; it also had an immense influence over the social life of the people, an influence which is clearly observable at the present day.

In New England the town was the unit originally established; it was made up of settlers who attended a common church, and at the beginning was hardly distinguishable from the parish or the religious organisation, since in several colonies only church members could vote. The town was always a part of a colony, and as soon as the colonial government was thoroughly organised and had a legislature, the specific powers and duties of the town were defined by law.

The town or the township is probably the purest form of a democratic government; within the limitations of law it has its own administrative or executive officers, determines its own rate and amount of taxation, makes its own appropriations, provides for the schools, highways, and the police, and does everything that the general law of the State allows. Such organisations preserve a very perfect autonomy, so far as their powers extend, but these powers are limited by their own by-laws as well as by State laws. Their business affairs are conducted in open town meetings, thus giving to every citizen an opportunity to express his views for or against any pending measure. It is in the town meeting that the officers are elected by ballot or otherwise, as the statutes and by-laws may determine. In Pennsylvania and in some of the Western States the township corresponds very closely to the town of the Eastern and other States. In some States the people of a county may adopt a town system if they indicate such a desire by an election. Mr. James Bryce says in "The American Commonwealth" that the town meeting has been the most perfect school of self-government in any modern country, and Thomas Jefferson remarked that "those wards called townships in New England are the vital principles of their governments, and have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the mind of man for the perfect exercise of self-government and for its preservation." It is at once seen that in the purity of the local government, whatever it is, lies the welfare of the State and hence of the Union. It is to the local governments that the people are closely allied, and to which they look for the administration of laws, municipal or otherwise, which affect their social, intellectual, and sanitary conditions. In a purely sociological sense, the local government is all-important.

The laws governing the primary units have been most liberal, and in some of the States these units, whatever they are called, may establish free public libraries, expend money in laying out parks, erect buildings, and erect, control, and

manage their own gas and water works and electric lighting plants. They have been the most potent factors in the establishment and conduct of the public-school system, and by their democratic methods have developed the safest forms of patriotism, and stimulated and encouraged a high order of public spirit.

53. The County.

Much less important, from a social point of view, is the county, except in the Southern and some Western States, where, as already stated, it is the usual form of effective local government; in order of growth it is a political unit higher than the town or township, and although it may include cities, the importance of the city makes the county of subordinate influence. All the States of the Union are divided into counties except Louisiana, where a similar organisation is denominated a parish. Counties consist of groups of cities or towns. A small number of cities are either independent of any county or else embrace counties within their limits, as is the case with New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and New Orleans, while the cities of Baltimore and St. Louis are as independent of the surrounding or adjacent counties as one county is of another, each being wholly independent of the county of the same name.

Counties are essentially uniform in their relations to the State, but a great diversity exists in their relations to minor political units embraced within them. There is a county town or capital, sometimes two, where the courts hold their sessions, and where the records of transfers of property, of mortgages, and of estates of deceased persons are kept. These things are more for the convenience of citizens than for the perfection of any system of government.

It will be seen at once that the county has little or no influence upon social development, having no independent legislative functions, although it may expend money, like a town, or city, or State, for public highways, an important feature in practical sociology. Counties must be considered

units of convenience, without the exercise of any degree of sovereignty. There are over 2,700 different counties in the United States.

54. The City.

By far the most important local unit in the United States is the city. In all ages among civilised men the city has been a political agency, but in ancient and mediæval times it had a position entirely different from that of the great cities of modern times. Athens, Syracuse, Carthage, Rome, Florence, Nuremberg, Amsterdam, were all city states, in which the municipal legislature governed not only the municipality but the surrounding territory, distant colonies, and vast dependencies; for instance, the Roman Republic was in theory and practice the government of the city of Rome, which sent its generals and proconsuls to carry its will all over the world. Most modern cities, and especially American cities, are subject to the control of the State, and have no power to make or execute laws, except in the limited fields assigned to them. New York City is as much subject to the control of the State of New York as is the smallest village. On the other hand, American cities now contain nearly one-third of the population of the whole country, and probably much more than one-half of that part of the population which is gathered into centres; they therefore have the largest number of persons to deal with, and consequently make new problems for themselves.

The city in itself is a large town, and is difficult to define by any arbitrary distinctions; it varies in size and character, but in general represents a compact mass of population, which receives special authority through a charter from the State government, which designates it as a city, town, village, or borough, and which makes special provisions for police and sanitary regulations, and grants certain defined powers to the government organised in accordance therewith. These organisations constantly increase in number and importance, as will be seen in the chapter (viii.) on Urban and Rural Population.

When a town becomes so populous that its affairs cannot be conducted in mass meetings of its voters, it must resort to some form of representative government; this is secured by a charter, as stated, and by it its form of government and the duties of the government established are clearly defined. The chief officials are elected by popular vote at stated periods; minor officials are usually appointed by the mayor. The aldermen and council constitute the legislative branch, and in all legislative duties they take the place of the town meeting and exercise the functions of any other legislative body of the primary political units.

In the District of Columbia the county and municipal organisations were abandoned in 1874, and the cities of Washington and Georgetown and the county of Washington, as political units, ceased to exist. The district is now governed as a unit by a board of three commissioners, appointed by the President of the United States; but this board has no legislative powers, they being exercised by Congress, but under the laws the commissioners have all the powers of executive officers.

The usual subdivision of any city is by wards, which are geographical divisions for representative, executive, or magisterial purposes. Wards have no legislative functions, except such as are exercised in common by all the wards in the city council or board of aldermen, through representation.

Cities have all the powers of town governments as well as the special privileges and powers named in their respective charters. The density of population, the wants and necessities of the people, result in a constant increase in the problems with which city governments must deal. The discussion of these problems, however, is left to a separate chapter in the proper place.

55. The State in the Union.

Under our Federal form of government we have in the United States an intermediate organism found elsewhere especially in

Germany, Switzerland, and the Dominion of Canada. Instead of one authority superior on all questions of government, we have commonwealths or "states," which exercise a very large part of all the powers of government, and thus affect all social questions. The source of the authority of the States is the same as that of the general government, — the will of the people that the exercise of their sovereign powers should be divided between two sorts of agencies. Historically, however, the state form of government can be traced all the way from the earliest colonies. The thirteen original States were, in fact, simply thirteen colonies transformed, and they practically represented the earlier geographical boundaries of the colonies. Whatever sovereignty they had was derived through charters granted by the English government, having extensive and minute provisions. The colonial governments exercised only delegated powers, the legislative privileges being exceedingly limited, and exercised by bodies called in some colonies General Courts, in others Assemblies, Houses of Delegates, etc., names which in many instances have been perpetuated. With the independence of the colonies they took on the form of State governments, with written constitutions enacted by the people in convention, which constitutions in most States took the place of royal charters, although the latter were continued as late as 1818 in Connecticut and 1843 in Rhode Island.

The State governments exercise all powers not delegated to or reserved by the Federal government in its constitution; they are republican in character, and represent the purest embodiment of democratic principles; that is to say, the people of each State elect their representatives, who are charged with the duty of enacting their laws, which in turn are executed by the State officials, the agents of the people. Hence the individual looks to his State for all those social functions necessary in a well-conducted social organism. In the earlier days, with scattered population, these functions were very limited, but with the increase of population and of cities they have been greatly enlarged; they have been growing in importance since

1789, although the germs of social legislation existed then in the different State constitutions.

The State governments look after public education; they authorise municipalities to make appropriations for the schools, libraries, and many other matters which tend to the education, both academic and æsthetic, of the whole body of citizens; they regulate the relations of capital and labour, in so far as law is effective; they protect the people in their relations to corporations; they make and execute laws concerning the treatment of operatives and employees generally by employers, including the liabilities of each, and in all ways exercise those general social functions which are essential under modern civilisation; they have the power of taxation, of local police regulation, of raising, supporting, and maintaining their militia force, of maintaining their own courts and enforcing their own laws and the judgments of their courts; they charter cities, incorporate companies, regulate insurance, and, in fact, do all those things which the welfare and happiness of the people may require, so long as their powers, as defined by their organic laws, are not exceeded or are not in contravention of any of the powers exercised by the Federal government. Nearly all of them, of course, have a bill of rights as a preamble to their constitutional law.

56. Territories and New States.

Up to the present time the United States has had no outlying colonies and no possessions intended to be permanently held under a dependent form of government. The Territories, however, of which some or other have existed ever since 1789, are really temporary colonies. These have been admitted to the Union from time to time, so that the number of States has increased from thirteen at the formation of the present constitutional government in 1789 to forty-five at the present time. Territorial government is mixed in its functions. There is a legislature, but the governor of each Territory is appointed by the President, and all the judicial officers are Federal appointees.

The legislatures can make laws for local regulation, but they are limited in their range. There are still five Territories, which will ultimately become States; as they become sufficiently important, both in population and resources, they will be gradually admitted into the Union, which ere long will consist of more than fifty sovereign States. Alaska and the Indian Territory have no territorial governments; the former has a governor, appointed by the President, and the general affairs of the latter are under the supervision of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Neither of them has a legislature. The annexation of Hawaii, the cession of Porto Rico, and perhaps other islands, will enlarge the group of territorial dependencies.

The thirty-two States which have already been admitted since 1789 have been obliged to adopt constitutions under a special law of Congress admitting them, which law has frequently specified certain conditions to be embodied in the State constitutions. By this method the Federal government carries out the provision of the constitution that it shall guarantee to the States a republican form of government; it also insures to the people of the newly admitted States all those privileges relating to their social welfare which have been guaranteed under the older State constitutions. It is an admirable arrangement, under which mutual checks are applied for the advantage of the single State acting under its sovereignty and its relation to the Federal government as one of the great family of States.

57. The National Government.

The Federal union thus constitutes the highest form of organisation of the political units of the nation. The agency of the Federal union, the national government, has supreme power in certain directions, which are clearly defined by the Federal Constitution, and are plainly expressed in section 8 of Article I. They are, in brief, to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; to borrow money; to regulate com-

merce with foreign nations, among the several States, and with the Indian tribes: to establish a uniform rule of naturalisation and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcy; to coin money and to regulate the value thereof, etc.; to provide for the punishment of counterfeiting; to establish post-offices and post-roads; to promote the progress of science and useful arts through copyright and letters patent; to constitute tribunals or courts; to declare war; to raise and support an army and a navy, and to do all things necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers granted by the organic law.

Under these granted powers the Federal government has complete control of immigration, and also of naturalisation. While States may make some regulation as to voting powers, a foreigner must naturalise under Federal laws. Congress not only can restrict immigration, but freely exercises that power, as will be shown in the chapter on that subject (§ 64). It has complete control of the Territories; it makes regulations relating to government works and labourers, and cares for the defective and dependent classes in territory exclusively under Federal jurisdiction; it protects the liberty and property of citizens, even against itself, — in fact, it assumes to be the guardian of the political rights of all citizens. Hence the national government in its relations to the people is one of social as well as of police power. As shown in the proper chapters (i. xi.), it has done much to stimulate education by contributions to State institutions, and as a gatherer and publisher of sociological data it stands pre-eminent. The national government is not paternal in the commonly accepted understanding of that word, yet its care of the general welfare makes its stability and efficiency the subject of keenest anxiety of all.

With the creation of the Union the grand ascending scale of political units in the United States was closed, and the continuity and harmony of all acting on one general principle perfected. The system of political units, with ever-increasing power and sovereignty, has stood the test of more than a cen-

tury; it has been conducive to the development of the country, and proved the efficiency of its administrative methods and the purity and wisdom of its judiciary; it has passed through many severe trials, and its strength of purpose and power of self-preservation demonstrated. It is now again in a new era, under which the questions of expansion will test its power and its ability to adjust questions on a scale not contemplated by its founders; but as it is based on the recognition of the rights of each individual by every other, and of the rights of each State by every other State, there need be no alarming anxiety as to its course.

58. Political Parties.

A parallel to the ascending scale of social and political units, as already developed, is found in the organisation of political parties, which are absolutely essential under a republican form of government, or, in fact, under any government which has a constitution, written or unwritten, behind it. The constitution of parties and the methods by which their intentions are carried out are so complicated that few really understand them, but the system is based on the principles of our political units from the town to the Union. Taking the national organisation for an illustration, representation goes down to the smallest town and to the wards of cities, where the primary caucus is the fountain of all political purity or corruption. The primaries elect delegates to nominating conventions in districts, counties, and States; conventions of congressional districts and State conventions elect delegates to the national convention, and the national convention nominates candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency. In addition to this there is a perfect network of party organisation for local purposes. It is through these channels that people express their sovereignty by direct action, thus securing a democratic form of government with a republican method of administration. The action of parties in the various details belonging to them is very largely the result of public opinion.

59. Public Opinion.

The actual workings of government, especially in social questions and in party organisation, depend upon the public pressure for alterations of laws, the public interest in their being carried out, and the general standard of morality. Ideas upon these primary elements of law and of government are the results of the intelligent or unintelligent appreciation of fundamental principles and the agitation of prevailing questions in the press and on the platform.

The application of public opinion to special questions is cultivated by public meetings, and especially by newspaper agitation, and is directed to influence legislators, to strengthen the executive officers, to act on parties, and in various ways to bring the merits or demerits of a public question to public view. One of the most emphatic instances of this formation of public opinion was shown in the slavery controversy, when the abolitionists resorted to every possible means of interesting and enlightening the public mind on the question of freeing the slaves in the South; pamphlets, lectures, newspapers, novels, every means by which the public mind could be influenced, were brought to bear on the question.

When it is considered that it is only the people who can change the organic law, and who are the prime movers in every alteration of statute law, and can make the execution of any statute easy or difficult, the power of public opinion as the exemplification of original sovereignty is understood; and when it is remembered, further, that the means of defence, of development, of progress, of every expansion of governmental function, affect the real social interests of the people at large, we see the close connection and sympathy between the voters and their authorised agents.

It is now an accepted doctrine that the State may do many things through its agents not connected with police powers only, and that the government has important functions other than those exercised by the courts and the military establish-

ment; and when the individual units of a nation have become so enlightened as not to require police powers, or when its members do not need repression, punishment, or care to any great degree, governments will still have many broader powers to exercise, which relate to the general welfare and which are outside of war and police powers. Herein lies more difficulty than that which attends the administration of government simply for the preservation of order. Then the transaction of peaceful business, attention to the means of transportation, education, and all those things which relate to the feelings, sentiments, and tendencies of the people, will be of greater importance than the ordinary performance of ministerial acts. Under this broader view, which is entertained at the present time, the individual is social as well as political, and his feelings and will must be brought into co-ordination with the feelings and wills of others. Thus the government must of necessity regulate, if not control, the individual as a social unit. Healthy public opinion, therefore, as stimulated by those who have the best interests of all citizens at heart, is a most powerful regulator, even if at times a disturber, of the functions of government.

Part III.

Questions of Population.

CHAPTER VII.

IMMIGRATION.

60. References.

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61. Religious and Political Distribution of Immigrants.

Thus far we have been dealing with what may be called, through analogy, the anatomy of society, and it is logical that its physiology should next receive attention, — that is, the functions and activities of society, the questions which interest it in relation to its betterment and further development. Perhaps the first subject which should attract attention relates to

those influences which may tend to disturb the constituent elements of society.

Above will be found (§§ 24, 25) the facts as to immigration, in connection with the facts relating to races and nativity. The total immigration from 1820 to 1898 is shown to have been 18,490,378 persons. The influence of this vast addition to our population has many ramifications. When immigration first began, or, at least, when it first grew to be very large, the immigrants found easy assimilation with the natives in various industries. In the constructive period of our railroads, in the erection of public works, the building of sewers, docks, etc., foreign labour found a ready demand; but as time went on and our industries became more developed, the irritating influence of immigration, so far as our industries were concerned, began to be felt. The United States had been designated as the land of the free and the home of the oppressed, and the notion that America was an asylum for all who sought to come to our shores was advertised the world over. So when immigration became too large in volume, it was very natural that some means should be sought by which it could be restricted. Whether there should be any material restriction, and if so, of what character, is the real problem of immigration to-day, and the problem must be settled along industrial lines, if at all.

A study of the nationalities represented in the immigration to this country shows that the religious and party effects have been fairly equally divided; for more than half of the whole number have come from Protestant countries, and the two great political parties in the United States have absorbed about equal proportions of the total volume of immigration. Of course, in some sections one religious faith or one party preference is stronger than another.

62. Industrial Distribution of Immigrants.

When we look at industrial conditions, however, a different state of affairs is disclosed; for the absorption of immigrants

into our industries has not been equal. Studying this question for two periods, 1870 and 1890, the statistics[1] show that of the 9,249,547 persons born abroad, constituting the survivors of the whole body of immigrants up to 1890, more than one half (5,217,868) were absorbed in the different gainful occupations of the people, and this number is more than one-fifth of the twenty-two and three-quarter millions so employed. In agriculture the foreign born have increased from about one-tenth of the whole number engaged in that industry in 1870 to about one-eighth in 1890; but almost one-third of all the persons engaged in manufactures both in 1870 and 1890, and over one-half of the

1 Total Persons and Number and Per Cent of Foreign-born Persons Engaged in Each Class of Gainful Occupations, and Per Cent of Foreign-born Persons Engaged in Each Class of Total Foreign-born.

Classes of Occupations.	1870.				1890.					
	Persons Engaged in Gainful Occupations.				Persons Engaged in Gainful Occupations.					
	Persons Engaged.		Percentages.		Persons Engaged.		Percentages.			
	Total Persons.	Foreigners.	Foreigners of Total.	Foreigners Engaged of all Foreigners.	Total Persons.	Foreigners.	Foreigners of Total.	Foreigners Engaged of all Foreigners.		
Agriculture	5,922,471	619,108	10.45	11.12	8,466,363	1,089,944	12.87	11.78		
Manufactures	2,452,243	804,919	32.82	14.45	5,091,293	1,610,730	31.64	17.41		
Mining	165,096	102,288	61.73	1.84	357,248	195,594	59.51	2.11		
Domestic and Personal .	2,311,820	788,716	34.11	14.17	4,360,577	1,433,386	32.99	15.55		
Trade and Transportation	1,229,399	327,034	26.60	5.87	3,326,122	724,316	21.78	7.83		
Other Occupations . .	424,294	61,824	14.57	1.11	1,104,058	158,898	14.39	1.72		
All Occupations . .	12,505,923	2,703,889	21.62	48.57	22,735,661	5,217,868	22.95	56.41		

miners in 1890, were of foreign birth; of the latter nearly two-thirds were foreigners in 1870. We expect to find high percentages in domestic and personal service, but it is surprising to find that foreigners made up more than a quarter of all those engaged in trade and transportation in 1870 and more than a fifth in 1890.

The table deserves special study, because of the light which it throws on the serious problem of restricting immigration. The term "gainful occupations" includes all persons actually busied, whether wage labourers, salaried persons, or proprietors, and whether men, women, or children; and the relative proportions of natives and foreigners suggest the possibility that immigrants come to this country too rapidly for healthy assimilation in our great industries.

63. Immigration and Illiteracy.

An argument has also been made on the basis of the illiteracy of the foreign element. According to the census of 1890, all the illiterates (meaning those persons 10 years of age and over who could neither read nor write in any language) numbered 6,324,702, which was 13.34 per cent of the total population of that age; of these, native whites furnished 2,065,003, or about 6 per cent of their total contingent; and the foreign whites furnished 1,147,571, which was 13.06 per cent of their contingent. The general average was brought about by the great number of negro illiterates: of these there were 3,042,668, or very nearly one-half of the whole number were persons of negro descent; the great concentration of illiteracy, therefore, is in the negro population. That immigrants do not permanently increase illiteracy is shown by a separation of the foreign born from natives of foreign parentage. The whole number of such persons 10 years of age and over was, in 1890, 7,768, 421; and of these only 174,280, or 2.24 per cent, were classed as illiterates.

The total number of persons 10 years of age and over in the United States in 1890 who could not speak English was

1,718,496; four-fifths of these were foreign white persons, and nearly one-tenth were native whites of native parentage, while only a little over one twenty-fifth were native whites of foreign parentage, and a sixteenth were coloured, principally Chinese and Indians. The principal aggregations of non-English speaking persons are among the French Canadians in the New England and border States; the so-called "Pennsylvania Dutch;" the French of Louisiana; the Mexicans of the Southwest, mainly in New Mexico, Texas, Arizona, and Colorado, who, through their peculiar environment, have not learned to speak English, even though of native-born parentage. There are also many communities of Germans, Swiss, Scandinavians, Hollanders, and French in the Northwest, and large quarters of Italians, Poles, Bohemians, and Russians in the large cities, where little or no English is spoken.

Nevertheless, experience shows that all foreigners coming to America and desiring to join our industrial army, or to become identified with our population, must sooner or later, in order to succeed, learn the English language. One of the most interesting exemplifications of this truth is to be found in the experience of the Canadian-French. At the conquest in 1760 Lower Canada had, according to the best authorities, 72,000 French-Canadians, the descendants of less than 10,000 immigrants from France. The increase had already been marvellous, but these people, according to the census of 1891, had increased to above 1,400,000, though they had received no immigration and lived in the midst of an English-speaking people, and they preserved their distinctive French characteristics in every respect, especially in religion and language. Yet the French-Canadian immigrants, whatever may have been the hopes of their leaders when coming to the United States, are rapidly assuming the character of American citizens. What is true of them, with their distinctive national characteristics and with all the obstacles growing from their past, is true, or will soon be true, of all nationalities. The second or third generation produces a live American, imbued

with all the principles, instincts, and ambitions of the American citizen, speaking the national tongue and partaking of the national education. The question of the illiteracy of immigrants, therefore, need not agitate the public mind.

64. Restrictive Laws on Immigration.

Notwithstanding the plain teaching of these facts, the volume of immigration has grown so large as to alarm many good people, who think it an irritant to the body politic, and the demands for its restriction and regulation have become so serious during the past few years that Congress has constantly attempted to accomplish something that would retard the flow. The first attempt in this direction was the exclusion of the Chinese, and in this direction law has been very efficacious. The total number of Chinese in the country grew from 1870 to 1880 by the difference between 63,199 and 105,465, but in 1890 it was only 107,425.

The next method of restriction was in the shape of laws regulating the importation of labourers under contract. It was formerly the custom of employers of labour to make contracts with prospective immigrants before leaving their homes; then, when they arrived in this country, to put them at work in accordance with the contract. This practice became offensive, and was prohibited by Federal law in 1885. Some of the States have regulated the employment, under certain circumstances, of imported labourers on government works, through the agency of contractors. In New York such laws have been declared unconstitutional.

These two measures have accomplished practically nothing in retarding immigration. Occasionally immigrants, having been brought over by contractors in violation of Federal laws, are sent back; and immigrants who are paupers or criminals must be returned at the expense of the steamship company bringing them over, and there have been a few returned under these laws, but the efforts at restriction have affected few persons, though they may have prevented some from starting.

Various additional laws have been proposed: one is to establish measures of regulation in foreign countries by a system of examination of intended emigrants, through the consular officers of the government. This plan failed to find favour, on account of its practical complications. Another plan is to exclude all illiterate immigrants, both through the efforts of consular agents abroad and of the custom-house officials at home. This measure in 1897 came near passing Congress, but has not yet been adopted. Another plan which has been advocated by many very conservative writers, among them the late General Francis A. Walker, is the imposition of a heavy head tax of, perhaps, $50, to be levied upon every immigrant landing at any of the ports of the United States. This would certainly result in reducing immigration, but it would not necessarily affect criminals and other undesirable classes from coming to our shores; the tax plan has never aroused any general demand for its adoption.

In many quarters it is felt that transportation lines are to a large degree responsible for an unhealthy volume of immigration, for in order to increase their traffic, their agents throughout Europe seek passengers and offer every inducement to immigrants; the rates are sometimes so low that, for example, an Italian immigrant can go from Italy to Chicago for little more than it would cost a first-class passenger to travel from New York to Chicago. In some cases associated efforts in foreign countries have resulted in sending to us an undesirable class of persons, who find it very difficult to become assimilated in our industrial forces or to accommodate themselves to our laws and institutions.

Could law reach some of these features attending immigration the volume could be reduced; but a great obstacle in the way of restriction lies in the widely accepted doctrine of a universal brotherhood, the duty of the United States to aid the nations of the earth to reach more equal economic and moral conditions. Certain it is that immigration has been a powerful element in the development of our resources and

in the material upbuilding of the nation, and that among the immigrants of the last eighty years and their descendants have been many of the best American citizens.

65. Relation of Immigration to Increase of Population.

One of the principal arguments for immigration is the resulting growth of the population of the United States, — the addition of 18,000,000 or more and their progeny. On this point able writers, especially General Walker, have taken issue. It is very difficult to prove that immigration is a retarding influence upon the natural increase of population, and yet there are elements which tend to sustain the thesis. Countries that have lost large numbers — millions even — through emigration to America have not suffered in their birth rate, while America, to which these millions have been sent, has experienced a decrease in the size of the family, as shown in the discussion of the family above (§ 36).

The United States is unfortunate in not having a general registration system for births, from which conclusive results could be drawn; but we have the statistics of births, marriages, and deaths for a long term of years for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In that State the birth rate has decreased since 1850–55 from 29 to each one thousand persons, to 27 in 1895; there was some variation during the intervening years, — as, for instance, for the five years ending with 1880 it was a little less than 25 for each one thousand. There has also been a gradual decrease in the number of persons married to each one thousand during the same period, the decrease being from 21.77 to 18.48. There was very little increase in the death rate during all that time, the variation being from 18.37 to 19 per thousand. For the natural movement of population we look to the excess of births over deaths, but in Massachusetts, for the period named, the excess in every one thousand persons dropped from $10\frac{2}{3}$ to 8.

Massachusetts was among the first States to feel the steady influence of immigration. If the addition of immigrants has

tended to an increase of population, it is not shown in the statements quoted; that is, immigration has not increased the birth rate or the marriage rate, or insured a decrease in the death rate. It may have offset the decreases noted, but certainly it has not overcome them. In parts of the country where the population is more thoroughly native there has been a corresponding increase in the excess of births over deaths, yet there are so many influences which enter into the question of birth, marriage, and death rates that it is quite impossible to determine what the influence of immigration has been upon them. It is not safe to argue that, because two things happen contemporaneously, one is the cause and the other effect; so when we consider that of the total number of immigrants coming to this country more than half were living in 1890, it is difficult to bring the mind to the conclusion that they have had no perceptible influence on the increase of our population.

It should be borne in mind that the death rate among immigrants must be higher than among natives. The hardships of their voyage in many cases superinduce disease, certainly exhaustion, from which many, partially the infirm when they embark, do not recover. Brought over for the very small fares which are charged, the immigrant, as a rule, must be fed in a very poor way, not only as to quantity but as to quality, and be stowed in very close quarters between decks, and thus subjected to exposure of many kinds and to loss of vitality. Furthermore, when he reaches this country he is obliged to undergo a change of diet, which often reduces him; to offset this, many immigrants insist upon procuring the food of their native countries. They are thus subjected to increased expense in living, or else obliged to deprive themselves of those things to which they are used. Poor in pocket, his vitality reduced, the immigrant becomes the prey not only to disease, through hunger and deprivation, but to the necessity of engaging in severe physical labour under new conditions. These influences are against a low death rate.

Internal migrations have had a retarding influence upon the birth rate, especially where such migrations have occurred from the older States to border States, through the attraction of pioneer developments. This movement has divided families temporarily, and thus checked the birth rate to some extent. As the newer portions become more generally settled and their conditions approach those of the older States, this influence in some degree will be overcome.

The whole question is one open for full discussion and for the construction of theories. With a few facts like those already cited, and others relating to the increase of population in parts of the country where the influence of immigration has been felt very slightly, if at all, the idea that immigration has not tended to increase the population of the United States finds partial support. The conclusion is safe, probably, that the increase in our population is due very largely to natural causes and in small degree to external influences coming through immigration.

CHAPTER VIII.

URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION.

66. References.

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67. Statistics of Urban and Rural Population.

In the census of 1880, urban population[1] was defined as that element living in cities or other closely aggregated bodies of

[1] URBAN POPULATION AND PER CENT OF URBAN POPULATION, OF TOTAL POPULATION, AND OF NUMBER OF CITIES AT EACH CENSUS, 1790 TO 1890.

Census Years.	Population of the United States.	Urban Population.	Per cent of Urban Population of the Total Population.	Number of Cities.
1790 . . .	3,929,214	131,472	3.35	6
1800 . . .	5,308,483	210,873	3.97	6
1810 . . .	7,239,881	356,920	4.93	11
1820 . . .	9,633,822	475,135	4.93	13
1830 . . .	12,866,020	864,509	6.72	26
1840 . . .	17,069,453	1,453,994	8.52	44
1850 . . .	23,191,876	2,897,586	12.49	85
1860 . . .	31,443,321	5,072,256	16.13	141
1870 . . .	38,558,371	8,071,875	20.93	226
1880 . . .	50,155,783	11,318,547	22.57	286
1890 . . .	62,622,250	18,235,670	29.20	448

population containing eight thousand inhabitants or more. The Superintendent of the Eleventh Census remarks that "this definition of the urban element, although a somewhat arbitrary one, is used in the present discussions of the results of the Eleventh Census in order that they may be compared directly with those of earlier censuses." He considers the limit of eight thousand inhabitants unduly high, inasmuch as most of the distinctive features of urban life are found in many smaller bodies of population.

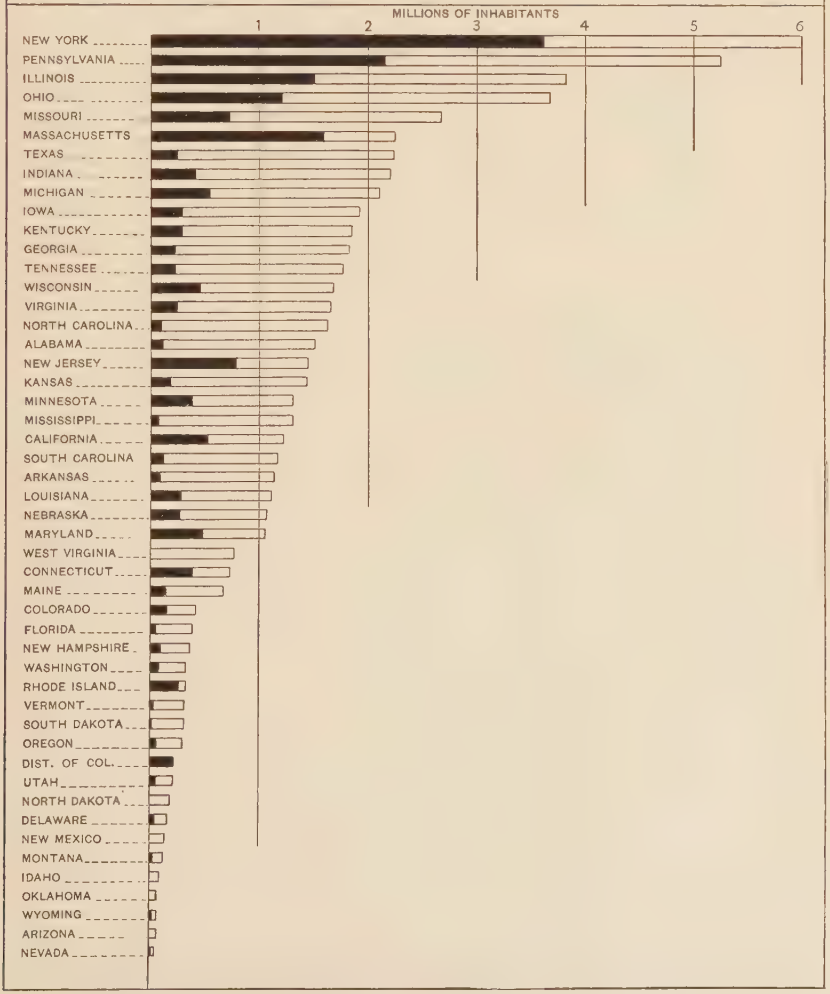
The proportion of urban population has gradually increased from a thirty-third in 1790 to nearly a third in 1890; the number of "cities" from 6 to 448. The most populous city in 1790 was Philadelphia, with 28,522 people; in 1890 New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia each had a population in excess of one million. The cities in 1870 which contained more than 100,000 inhabitants numbered 14; in 1890 they had increased to 28.

The North Atlantic Division of States, with a population of 17,401,545, contains an urban population of 9,015,383, or nearly one-half the entire urban population of the country. The population of the South Atlantic Division is 8,857,920, and the urban population is 1,419,964, or less than 8 per cent of the entire urban population of the United States. The North Central Division, the largest group in the country, has a total population of 22,362,279, and it has a large urban population (5,793,896), which is a little less than one-third the entire urban population. The South Central Division contains 10,972,893 inhabitants, but its urban population is small, it being 1,147,089, or about one-sixteenth of the urban population of the country. The Western Division, being the smallest group and having 3,027,613 inhabitants, has an urban population of 908,053, or about one-twentieth of the entire urban population.

While the North Atlantic Division contains nearly one-half the urban population of the entire country, more than one-half of its own population is contained in cities of eight thousand or more inhabitants, and during the decade from 1880 to 1890

URBAN AND TOTAL POPULATION, BY STATES AND TERRITORIES, 1890.

NOTE.—The total length of each column represents the aggregate population of the state or territory, while the black part of the column represents the urban element, that is, the proportion contained in cities having 8,000 inhabitants or more.



[Reproduced from the report of the Eleventh U. S. Census, for Outline of Practical Sociology.]

this urban element in this division increased 44.15 per cent, while the total population increased less than 20 per cent. In Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York the numerical increase in the urban element is greater than the increase of the total population, so that in the States named the rural population must have actually diminished. Of course, this rapid increase in the urban population of the North Atlantic Division finds its cause in the great extension of manufactures and commerce, requiring the aggregation of inhabitants in restricted localities. The large increase of city population is due, in some degree, to annexations to already existing cities, but this explanation does not alter the fact itself, that there is a large and rapidly increasing city population as compared with the population of rural districts.

68. Apprehension from Alleged Congestion of Cities.

This rapid growth often causes great apprehension as to the character of our population and as to the influence of cities as controlling powers in the politics of the country; and very frequently it excites the fears of students of social science, lest it result in increased congestion of the slum population in cities. The only method of dealing with such a question is to examine the actual state of affairs in some of our largest cities. Those have been selected for which the facts could be more readily studied. The statistics of population by wards of the cities of New York and Philadelphia for 1870, 1880, and 1890, and for Boston for 1880 and 1890, reveal the facts relative to the population for the congested wards, the remaining wards, and for all wards in each of the cities for the years named.

A study of the statistics throws great light upon the supposed concentration of population in the slums of the cities named. In New York the increase in the congested wards (and for this purpose all the wards south of Fourteenth Street have been taken) was in the twenty years from 1870 to 1890 but 51,178, or less than a tenth, while the increase for the whole city for the twenty years was 573,009, or over six

tenths. Certainly during the twenty years there has been no perceptible increase of population in the congested territory described.[1]

Turning to Philadelphia, and taking the compact wards, we find there has been a loss in the twenty years of 28,641, or 6.56 per cent, the wards other than the congested wards showing a gain of 401,583, or 168.91 per cent, while the total gain for the whole city was 372,942, or 55.33 per cent.

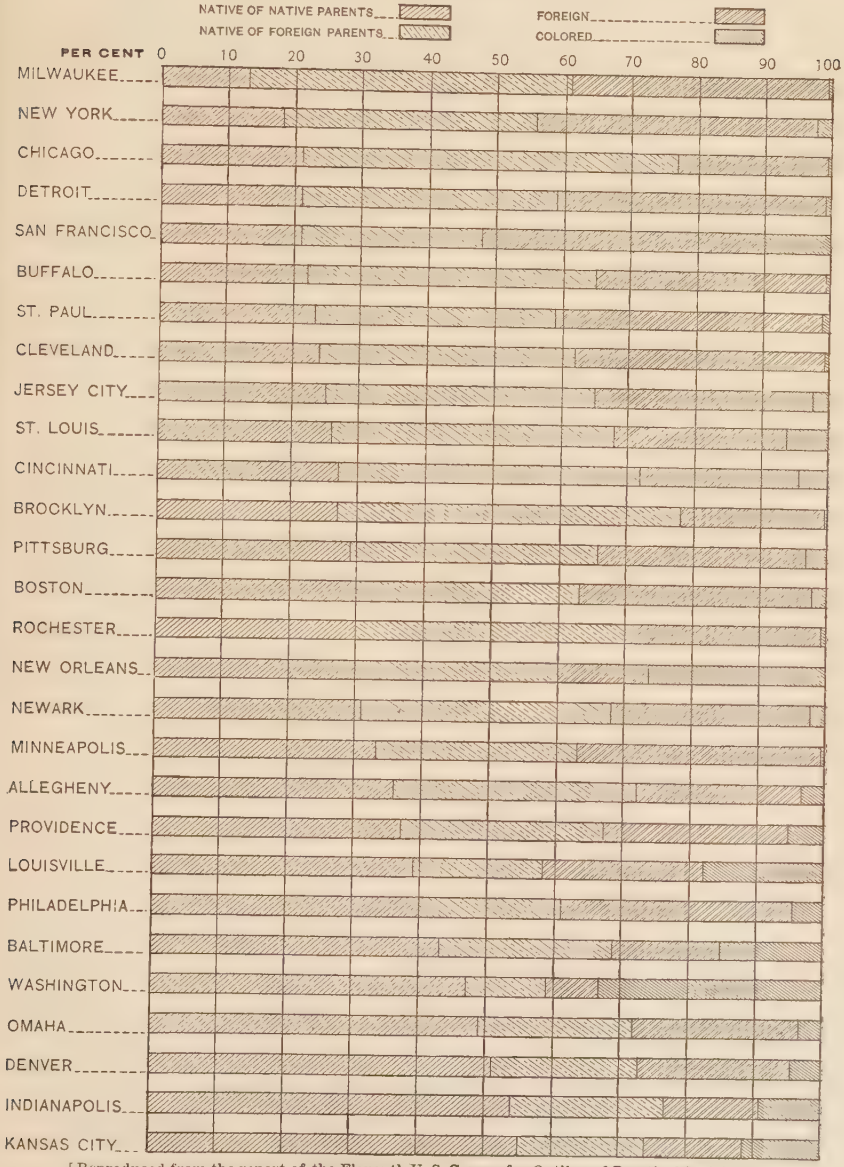
Similar conditions are shown for Boston. In the ten years named, the congested wards, which include all the slum population of the city, gained only 1,020, or about one per cent;

[1] Population of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston at the Censuses of 1870, 1880, and 1890, in Congested Wards and in other Wards, showing Number and Per Cent of Gain. (*See full tables, in Urban Population, by the Author, Popular Science Monthly, February*, 1892).

	Population.			Gain, 1870–1890.	Per cent of Gain, 1870–1890.
	1870.	1880.	1890.		
New York.					
Congested Wards[1] .	545,653	593,914	596,831	51,178	9.38
Remaining Wards .	396,639	612,385	918,470	521,831	131.56
Total	942,292	1,206,299	1,515,301	573,009	60.81
Philadelphia.					
Congested Wards[2] .	436,272	401,795	407,631	28,641[3]	6.56[3]
Remaining Wards .	237,750	445,375	639,333	401,583	168.91
Total	674,022	847,170	1,046,964	372,942	55.33
Boston.					
Congested Wards[4] .	. . .	98,074	99,094	1,020[5]	1.04[5]
Remaining Wards .	. . .	264,765	349,383	84,618[5]	31.96[5]
Total	. . .	362,839	448,477	85,638[5]	23.60[5]
Boston.					
Boston proper . .	138,781	147,075	161,330	22,549	16.25
Annexations . . .	111,745	215,764	287,147	175,402	156.97
Total	250,526	362,839	448,477	197,921	79.00

[1] First to seventeenth inclusive, except the twelfth, which is an outlying ward.
[2] Second to twentieth inclusive, except the fifteenth.
[3] Loss.
[4] The sixth, seventh, eighth, tenth, twelfth, sixteenth, and seventeenth.
[5] 1880 to 1890.

CONSTITUENTS OF THE POPULATION OF THE GREAT CITIES, 1890.



[Reproduced from the report of the Eleventh U. S. Census for Outline of Practical Sociology.]

while in the remaining wards there was a gain of 84,618, or 31.96 per cent. The table above shows the population for 1870, 1880, and 1890 for the old city territory of Boston prior to any of its annexations, for the present Boston, and for the annexations. In the twenty years the population of Boston gained, including all, 197,921, or 79 per cent; the old city proper gained but 22,549, or 16.25 per cent; while the population of the annexations increased 175,402, or 156.97 per cent.

These facts certainly remove all apprehension as to the increase of the slum population of the cities named. It is a perfectly reasonable conclusion that the population of such districts cannot increase, and that, while there is a great setting of people toward our cities, they are found as a rule among the suburban population, in healthy sanitary districts; and that whatever influx there is to the slum localities is entirely offset by the people outgoing from such districts.

69. Redistribution of City Population.

That these results are not accidental is shown by the similar experience of London. Mr. Sidney J. Low, in the "Contemporary Review" for October, 1891, has analysed certain statistics from the English census of 1891, in which he shows the conditions of the population of the typical districts of inner London, on both sides of the river, with their rates of increase or decrease since 1881. In regard to these districts, Mr. Low remarks that some of them are wealthy residential districts, while many of them are poor and others altogether poverty-stricken. "Bethnal Green, Whitechapel, St. Olave, Southwark, and parts of St. Pancras, St. Giles, and Holborn," he says, "are tinted with a very dark brush on Mr. Charles Booth's excellent comparative maps of London poverty." And Mr. Low further says: "It is not unsatisfactory to find that the dwellers in these localities are obeying the great law of centrifugal attraction, and quitting the inner recesses of the metropolis to find homes in the outskirts. The people who leave

Hatton Garden and Commercial Street and Hoxton, and Seven Dials, either forced out by 'improvements' or voluntarily retiring, do not go to the country — that we know well enough; nor do the country folks come in to take their places in any large numbers. For the immigrant from the congested districts of the town, and for the emigrant from the decaying rural parishes, we must look to the suburbs; and we find him there, if figures can tell us anything. . . .

"Here is where the increase of 'Greater London,' with its five and a half millions of inhabitants, is found. It is not, as hasty observers have imagined, in the teeming alleys of 'Darkest London,' or in the warren of rabbit-hutches which spreads for a mile or two north and south of the Thames. The centre of population is shifting from the heart to the limbs. The life-blood is pouring into the long arms of brick and mortar and cheap stucco that are feeling their way out to the Surrey moors and the Essex flats and the Hertfordshire copses. Already 'Outer London' is beginning to vie in population with the 'Inner Ring;' a few decades hence, and it will have altogether passed it. . . .

"The population is not shifting from the fields to the slums; and the slums themselves are not becoming fuller, but the reverse. So far from the heart of the city being congested with the blood driven from the extremities, we find, on the contrary, that the larger centres of population are stationary, or thinning down; it is the districts all round them which are filling up. The greatest advance in the decade is shown not in the cities themselves, but in the ring of suburbs which spread into the country about them. If the process goes on unchecked, the Englishman of the future will be of the city, but not in it. The son and grandson of the man from the fields will neither be a dweller in the country nor a dweller in the town. He will be a suburb-dweller. The majority of the people of this island will live in the suburbs; and the suburban type will be the most widespread and characteristic of all, as the rural has been in the past, and as the urban may perhaps be said to be in the present."

This aspect of affairs represents clearly the only condition that could have been expected. It should be remembered that the cities named are great mercantile and manufacturing centres, their prosperity developing rapidly, and that the very rapidity of the commercial or industrial development of cities retards the growth of population in the compact quarters. Every time an advance is made along a street by the extension of business houses, the families living there are crowded out; they may move to other parts of the city or locate in the suburbs; in either event there is only a shifting of population, and not an increase. The transfer of great manufacturing establishments from the city to the country carries large numbers of families, or if the transfer is made within the city limits there is simply a change in location of the population interested in the establishment. In taking the Federal census of 1880 for the State of Massachusetts a loss in one of the wards of the city of Boston was discovered; but upon investigation it was found that the removal of one establishment from that ward to another in a distant part of the city had carried with it more than one thousand people; so that this one transaction affected the status of two sections of the city without really much altering social conditions. Cities lay out new streets and avenues, necessitating the tearing down of rookeries and crowded tenement houses. Every such improvement displaces a large number of families, who seek a residence either in some other part of the city or in the suburbs. Thus, the building of a large number of houses, often referred to as an evidence of increase of population, may mean only a demand for tenements to accommodate previous residents; even in a country town a new house or a dozen new houses may be entirely the result of the improved financial condition of one or several families formerly living in the same house. The retarding influence of the increase of trade and manufactures must be felt more and more as their extension becomes more rapid, and in all great cities where large business blocks are erected in place of crowded tenements there must be a dispersion of population, the move-

ment being assisted greatly by rapid transit lines, as will be shown in the following chapter, in the remarks on rapid transit (§ 78).

The presence of a large percentage of the foreign born in the great cities of the country is an important factor in considering urban and rural population. Taking the 124 principal cities of the country, — that is, those having 25,000 or more inhabitants, — it is found that they contain 4,081,927 foreign-born persons, which is 44.13 per cent of the total number of such persons in the United States. The concentration of foreign born in the congested districts of Baltimore, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia, is shown in the following table from the seventh special Report of the U. S. Com. of Labour:

NATIVITY OF THE SLUM POPULATION AND TOTAL POPULATION COMPARED.

	Slum Population.		Total Population.	
	Native Born (per cent).	Foreign Born (per cent).	Native Born (per cent).	Foreign Born (per cent).
Baltimore . .	59.79	40.21	84.12	15.88
Chicago . . .	42.49	57.51	59.02	40.98
New York . .	37.42	62.58	57.77	42.23
Philadelphia .	39.55	60.45	74.26	25.74

To be explicit, in New York it is found that the native-born white persons constitute 57.77 per cent of the total population of the city and the foreign-born element 42.23 per cent, while for the congested or slum districts the native-born element is 37.42 per cent and the foreign-born element 62.58 per cent of the population of such district. It is especially in cities, therefore, that the immigration question is the most serious.

70. Density of Urban Population.

The density of population in large cities leads to many erroneous conclusions. The population to each acre or to each square mile of a city cannot well be compared with that for another city unless the exact area of dense population is known; as, for instance, a city may comprise 50 square miles of territory and have 500,000 population. This would give 10,000 to each square mile. But this population for topographical reasons may actually be compressed into half the area, showing 20,000 persons to the square mile. Another city of like area and like total population, but with the people distributed more evenly over the whole area, would be in a much better sanitary condition than a city under the first illustration, although in statistics the population per square mile would be the same when the whole area is considered.

Taking 28 of the largest cities of the country, or those having a population of over 100,000 each (the total population of these cities being 9,697,960, and comprising 15.49 per cent of the total population of the country), the density is 15.19 to the acre; but the differences in density of population are very great, ranging from 4.05 to the acre in St. Paul, 4.98 in Minneapolis, 8.96 in Omaha, 10.20 in New Orleans and Buffalo, 10.70 in Chicago, about the same in Denver, and 11.50 in St. Louis, to nearly 31 in Washington, 44.59 in Brooklyn, and 58.69 in New York. Dr. John S. Billings, the skilful statistician in charge of vital statistics at the Eleventh Census, when speaking of these matters, is very careful to remark that the ratios indicated "give no information as to the difference in density of the population in the actually built-up portions," and he states that in New York the number of persons per acre ranges from 543 in ward 10 to 3 in ward 24, while in Chicago there is a range from 117 in ward 16 to 0.58 in ward 27. These instances show the extremes, and teach emphatically that any comparison of population to the acre or to the square mile for purposes of drawing conclusions relative to sanitary and other conditions must be avoided.

71. Vital Statistics of Cities.

Physicians have taken much interest in censuses, and in many cases the social facts relating to population have been preserved for certain prescribed health districts.[1] The way is thus prepared for a scientific study of death rates and of density of population where the sanitary conditions can be compared and differences of condition noted. The ordinary statistics of death rates in cities are exceedingly untrustworthy. The errors arise from two causes: the first is the incompleteness of death statistics, which could be overcome only by a compulsory registration of deaths; the second cause is that population is not accurately known except for periods some years apart, and for intermediate years the death rate must be based upon calculations of population mathematically made. In some cases this has caused fright and anxiety on account of an alarming apparent death rate, when, had the facts all been known, it would have been found that the death rate was really normal. Another cause of erroneous conclusions arises from the existence of large hospitals in cities, so that the death rate is increased by people coming from the country to the cities for treatment. This is also true in connection with the criminal statistics of cities. Men come in from country towns for the purpose of a visit, or a spree, or crime. Whatever the purpose, when they commit crime within the city limits, they are there arrested and punished, and help to swell abnormally the legitimate criminal statistics of the city itself. All these considerations should be taken into account when writers are undertaking to draw what they feel to be accurate conclusions through comparisons of statistics. Learned essays upon conditions of the population, involving insanity, crime, disease, death, etc., have been written, in which all the conclusions of the essays were based upon most incomplete and unsatisfactory data. It is gratifying to know that the experts in charge of such important inquiries everywhere are now thoroughly alive to all the opportunities of error which ordinarily and naturally arise under imperfect statistics.

[1] Eleventh Census, Report on Vital Statistics of Cities.

CHAPTER IX.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF CITY LIFE.

72. References.

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73. Water-works.

Great problems associated with life in our large cities are now agitating the minds of men, especially those which involve public expense and the value which is secured in return for taxes paid. Such problems relate to water supply, the supply of gas and electricity for lighting purposes, streets, street cleaning, disposal of garbage, sewers, the police, the housing of the poor, the slums, rapid transit, public baths, market systems, etc. All these questions are included in the greater question of municipal government, which in itself does not come within the scope of this work; but they may all be considered from the social point of view.

The citizens of all cities, meaning in this connection all places having city conditions without regard to size, are interested in the quantity and the purity of the water supply; certainly all municipalities of any consequence have expended large sums in securing an adequate supply, and in many cities the water is brought through conduits from a long distance, so as to secure a water basin free from contaminating elements. Lakes among the mountains and hills, running rivers, and the great fresh-water lakes of the St. Lawrence system are the chief sources of water supply. Where these are not available the water is supplied from the earth by means of artesian and driven wells, and the ingenuity of engineers has purified the supply by constructing reservoirs or galleries for the storage and filtering of water, from which it is pumped to standpipes

or elevated reservoirs for the purpose of supplying the citizens and works of the towns.

There are in the United States nearly 2,600 water-works, about 1,200 of which are owned and operated by private corporations, and over 1,350 by the municipal governments themselves. Of the 50 largest cities in 1890, 35 owned their own water-works. The greater proportion of private works is to be found, probably, in the smaller cities.

A great problem in this connection grows out of the enormous waste of public water. The principal effort in this direction has been through the use of water meters, the water-user paying for the amount of water used. This method has never been popular, either with the people or with city governments, for the water-meter system is one that would fall particularly hard upon the very poor, and result in their paying an undue proportion of the water-tax. A more important objection, however, lies in the fact that by the use of the meter the very poor would be deterred from using water freely. Indeed, the great waste is not so much through domestic uses, but rather in manufacturing establishments, public buildings, and shops. The policy of every municipality should be to furnish its citizens with ample water for all reasonable purposes at the lowest cost.

74. Lighting of Cities.

Cities are lighted by gas and by electricity, and the questions as to economic conditions and purity of supply are those which attract the interest of the citizen. There are over 1,000 gas plants in the country, 990 being private and 24 municipal plants. There are also about 2,800 electric light and power plants, over 2,400 of them being private and 415 municipal works.

The relative cost under municipal and private ownership cannot be stated in a very satisfactory way at present. The only investigations which have been made relative to municipal and private lighting have been, as a rule, on an individual basis (that is, by students), but an extensive investigation is now

being conducted by the United States Department of Labour, which will undoubtedly furnish fairly accurate and classified data as to these matters, as well as to the cost of water supply.

The relative advantage of lighting streets by works owned by the city and by those owned by private corporations constitutes a very important question, which cannot as yet be settled. It is a fact that the gaslight is gradually giving place to the electric light, and it is also true that electric lighting is most favoured in those cities that have less than 100,000 inhabitants; but the system is rapidly making its way into the largest cities. With a settlement of the question as to which is the more economical, private or municipal ownership, rests the further question of the extension of electric lighting, for the municipal system of gas lighting as well as of electric lighting is oftener found in the smaller cities. Whether the great consolidated gas interests of large cities have secured such control as to prevent the extension of the municipal system in such cities remains to be seen; but whatever the obstruction, the question of municipal and private control of electric and gas plants must eventually be settled on the basis of cost of production and of cost to the consumer. The agitation for cheap gas and a more general application of electricity will result in determining the economic conditions under which they can be furnished. Legislation can do something; knowledge can do more, and as experience proves this or that method to be the more economical, it will find an increasing number of advocates. It is not a question of municipal socialism, but it is one of economic supply, and the citizens will settle on these lines the question of how their gas, electricity, and water shall be furnished.

The expansion of the municipal system, to be successful, involves economy of supply and a highly perfected civil-service system. Some States have granted the power to municipalities to construct and operate their own gas and electric plants, as well as their water-works. One of the chief difficulties at the present time in ascertaining the relative value of the different

methods of supply lies in the fact that the cost of production is complicated with the administrative cost of the municipality. The advocates of the municipal system draw on the experience of European cities for their arguments, while the advocates of private ownership rely upon the efficiency which comes from self-interest and competition. The problem is an interesting one, and the publication of facts relating to either feature of it will help to solve it.

75. Streets and Sewers.

The streets and sewers of cities are constructed and operated under the control and direction of municipal governments, and, as a rule, with satisfactory results. All the questions connected with these two features of city life are settled by experience. Municipal politics may now and then have much to do with increasing the cost or delaying the completion of streets and sewers, but in the end the citizens are well if expensively served. The health of a city depends so largely upon these matters that good sewers with ample capacity are among the surest indications of an enlightened population, and no city can afford to neglect them.

In the construction of streets the public demands of the city governments not only smooth and durable roadways, with every attention given to grades and the quality of the pavement used, but sidewalks well and conveniently laid. The construction of streets is perhaps the most important question, so far as the business interests of a city are concerned, and in order to comply with all demands many experiments have been tried, — the macadamised road, which is constructed by having a thorough broken-stone foundation overlaid with clay soil, the whole closely compacted; the use of square stone blocks, or the Belgian pavement; wooden pavements, consisting of blocks of wood set perpendicularly; and now the asphalt, or smooth pavement. There are valid arguments in favour of each of these methods of construction, most of which relate to the health and personal comfort of the inhabitants. The macada-

mised street is smooth and hard, but dusty; the Belgian pavement is hard, rough, and more noisy than any other, but it admits of absorption of water, whereas asphalt sheds all the water and the sewers oftentimes prove inadequate. The old-fashioned cobble-stone and the Belgian pavement withstand the wear of heavy traffic better than any others, but when the wear and tear of vehicles and of horses are considered (which must be borne by the owners), it is doubtful whether there is much economy in the use of stone pavements. At the present time the question as to the powers of city governments to make ordinances which shall result in the prevention of noise is being thoroughly discussed. The use of rubber tires may yet be compulsory.

The introduction of water for domestic and public uses necessitates a sewer system, the surface drainage of Baltimore, of parts of Philadelphia, and of some other cities, being a melancholy remnant of barbarism. The disposal of sewage is sometimes a difficult matter, but generally it is carried to ocean or river water. Many experiments have been made for the reduction of the animal and vegetable matter of sewage into blocks convenient for handling, to be used for fertilising purposes, while other experiments have been conducted for the purpose of destroying it by fire or by chemical processes. Much anxiety is felt lest the waste of sewage by carrying it into water may result in a robbery of the land of the chemical ingredients necessary to sustain its productive vitality. In some places in this country and in Europe it is utilised on what are called sewage-farms. At present most large cities find it to their advantage to carry their sewage as far away as possible, into lakes, or into the ocean, or to flowing rivers.

The street-cleaning problem has practically been settled in large cities through perfected organisation of a street-cleaning force. The most notable instance of this is to be found in the experience of the city of New York, whose streets a few years ago were very filthy, but are now among the cleanest of those of any city in the world. This desirable state of affairs was

brought about quickly through systematic organisation. The great street-sweeping machines that are used in many cities have accomplished most excellent results; but it is beginning to be seen that by a well-organised street-cleaning force, with brooms, shovels, and carts, the streets can be kept clean at reasonable cost, although somewhat greater than that accompanying the use of horse-power machines. Contractors are always ready to take the cleanings of streets for fertilising purposes, returning some compensation to the city.

The removal and disposal of garbage is still an unsolved problem. Generally, city governments look after this, either through their own force of garbage collectors or through contractors. Neither method has yet proved entirely satisfactory. Chemists and mechanics are now striving to solve the question, and many devices have been offered to the public for the rapid and effective disposal of garbage. The two principal methods consist of chemical reduction and cremation. In New York, and perhaps in some other large cities, garbage from kitchens and markets is being utilised by processes of separation, the ammonia, glue, and other minor products finding ready and profitable sale. According to the late Colonel George E. Waring, Jr., city garbage from kitchens and markets contains about 7 per cent of rubbish, such as cans, bottles, rags, etc., more than 3 per cent of grease, 20 per cent of animal and vegetable dry matter, and nearly 7 per cent of water. Nearly everything but the water is utilised, and a fair profit realised. The grease finds its market, and the animal and vegetable dry matter is carried back to the country as a fertiliser.

It is during the heated term that the garbage question presents itself most forcibly to householders. In the winter months much of the refuse is disposed of in furnaces and kitchen ranges. This is a crude method, but suggestive of the adoption of some domestic system by which people may readily dispose at home of the garbage that constantly accumulates in household work.

Good water and plenty of it, good and clean streets, safe sewerage, and facilities for the removal and disposal of garbage are vital necessities to the hygiene of cities, and greatly reduce the death-rate from zymotic diseases.

76. The Police.

The police force of cities is generally placed under a superintendent or captain of police, and it is organised somewhat as a military body, having lieutenants, sergeants, patrolmen, etc. It is the visible representative of the governing power, being always in the eyes of the people, and thus subject to public opinion in very direct ways. The class of men called into the police service should be, and usually is, of a high physical order, — men of strength, courage, and endurance. At the present time the effort is to secure men having not only these qualities, but such as are possessed of mental and moral attainments that shall make them in every respect true executors of the law.

The principle of civil service rules is being applied in various cities to the police force, and with excellent results. If men of intelligence, judgment, and moral character can be secured for police duty, much will be gained toward maintaining good order and (which is equally important) toward the suppression of vice. An intelligent, honest policeman, capable of physically enduring the hardships of the service, is an honour and a credit to his municipality.

Sometimes, when the police force of a large city has become demoralised through local political influences, or through the existing conditions of vice, the legislative power of the State has been brought to bear through statutory regulations, even to the extent of placing the force under the direct supervision of officers appointed by the State executive; but as a rule city governments have been left to control their own police. The whole question is, how to secure good men who are thoroughly in sympathy with the best elements of the city, and interested in suppressing crime and vice rather than in making records.

The duties of the police are to preserve order, to see that all laws relating to the sale of liquor are enforced, that all city ordinances relating to sanitation and health are enforced, to take care of persons who are injured on the streets, to look out for fires, — in fact, to do all things which relate to the orderly conduct of the city. They cannot enter houses and make arrests unless an actual disturbance is going on, nor can they make arrests on the streets without a warrant unless persons are disorderly, and the offender must then, as a rule, be apprehended at the time. Policemen may, under some conditions, serve processes and make arrests at times other than during a disturbance; but the serving of the usual processes of law is generally delegated to another class of officers, — sheriffs and constables.

The police force is utilised in peaceful ways also, especially in cities where there are large free public libraries. The name of a person desiring to use the books of such a library is given to the policeman whose tour of duty is nearest the residence of the applicant, with instructions to report as to his worthiness and integrity. The police are also sometimes employed in taking school or general censuses.

The policemen are also the protectors of the people who use the streets, seeing that the laws of the road are rigidly enforced and that the rights of the pedestrian are duly respected. Thus in many ways, through their duties and their presence, they become familiar to all persons; hence the necessity of securing the very best grade of men possible.

77. Wages under Public and Private Contract.

An interesting economic question connected with city government which is now demanding attention is whether work for the municipality shall be done under contract in the usual way, or by day labour employed and paid directly by the city. Both methods are in vogue, and the opportunities for comparison are increasing in number and importance. The experiment of day labour is being worked out in London under the

London County Council plan, and with fairly satisfactory results. Some American cities, both the largest and those of medium size, are also endeavouring to ascertain which method is the more economical, and which is the better for the men employed. In many respects it is found that labour paid by the day is more efficient, and the cost, taking the products of labour into consideration, more favourable to the city treasury than under the contract system. Of course, much depends upon the contractor on the one hand and the superintendents of works, whatever they may be, on the other. Labour organisations everywhere are in favour of day labour as against the contract system.

The leading argument advanced is that profit should not be allowed on public work; that if a contractor can engage to carry out a certain piece of work, like the building of a sewer, he does it because there is profit in it, and in order to increase the margin of profit hires labourers at the lowest possible rate; while if the city itself, through its proper executive officers, should undertake the work, it could for the same amount of money build the sewer and pay more satisfactory wages to labour, giving the labourers, in the form of wages, that profit which would otherwise go to the contractor. The question will be decided finally through experience, although up to the present time limited experience is fairly proving the contention of the labour organisations.

78. Rapid Transit.

Perhaps the most important question at present, at least the question which attracts public attention more directly than any other, is that of rapid transit. We have seen that the population of cities is rapidly gaining in proportion to the increase of population in the whole country, and also that this growth in cities is largely suburban in its character. The suburban growth is fed from without and from within (§§ 68, 69). As business is extended, and the room and area formerly occupied by people are taken for great mercantile houses and for

manufacturing, the population of such areas is of necessity pushed out to the suburbs, while many seek suburban residences as a matter of choice. From without, the suburban population is augmented by the rush to cities from the country. Owing to the improvements in methods of agriculture, by which production from the earth becomes in some sense a manufacture, a smaller number of persons is required for agricultural purposes than of old. The question is often asked why, if population increases, there is not an increasing necessity of supplying food products; and if there is such a necessity, why can great numbers be spared from the rural districts to engage in the business undertakings of the cities? Improved methods of production offer an answer to this question, the result being that since the labour of the open country is not in so great demand, even to supply the vast increase required in food products, it seeks remunerative employment in centres of population. As the contraction of labour through invention goes on, the expansion of labour through invention grows to a greater extent; and it is probably true that through inventions, or through great industries which have come into being in recent years, a larger number of people find new employment than are deprived of employment through improved methods (§§ 136, 138, 139). The great industries associated with electricity, railroad enterprises, the building of new kinds of machinery, and the absorbing in various ways of labourers in occupations not known until within a few years, enable manufacturing centres to furnish gainful work to those coming from the country, where, relatively speaking, they are not needed. These people take up their residence in the suburbs, though they may find their occupation in crowded areas of the cities themselves. The question of rapid transit in cities, therefore, becomes one not only of great interest in the study of the movement of population at the present time, but one of prime necessity for the consideration of municipal governments. It is something more than a question of economics or of business convenience; it is a social and an ethical question as well.

According to the latest available data, the total track mileage of the street railways of the United States was 15,956. Of this amount 384 miles were operated by dummy-engine power, 612 miles by cable, 1,351 miles by horse power, and 13,556 miles by electric power. This shows the rapid substitution of electric propulsion for animal power. Since 1891 the number of horses employed in the street railway service of the United States declined 162,000, or about 80 per cent, so that the number of horses and mules in 1895–96 employed in street-car service was only 28,154.

The relative economy of cable, electric, and animal motive-power has been the subject of much discussion, and the facts are probably better known by the operators of roads than by the public. The lack of uniform accounts of railways prevents the use of statistics for the formation of any final judgment on this point, especially as the electric roads which have lately come into operation have not had experience enough to afford final conclusions as to economy of service. Experience, however, such as it is, points to electric power as that which will be generally employed, even more than at present. Such facts as are obtainable show that both cable and electric railroads are operated with greater economy than railways using animal power, but that electric railways, which have the least expense per car mile, have the greatest expense per passenger carried, owing to a smaller number of passengers per car mile or per trip than either of the other classes have. This is due to the fact that the new lines over which the passenger traffic has been but partly developed are chiefly electric.

This whole matter constitutes a question of the most vital interest to city and suburban communities, and it leads to the ethical consideration of the problem of rapid transit, for that system must eventually be used by which passengers can be transported from their homes to their places of business at the least possible expense and the greatest possible safety commensurate with high speed.

The necessity of living in sanitary localities, in moral and

well-regulated communities, where children can have all the advantages of church and school, of light and air, becomes more and more evident as municipal governments undertake to solve the problems that are pressing upon them. If it be desirable to distribute the population of the congested districts through country districts, means must be provided for safe, rapid, and cheap transit in and out; or, inversely, if it be desirable to build up the suburban areas, the people must be supplied with cheap and convenient means of reaching the localities within which they earn their living.

The tendency of modern invention is constantly toward doing the work of transportation at a steadily diminishing cost per unit, whether train mile, ton, or passenger mile. The benefit of this cheapening may go in one or other of four ways, — in lowering charges, in improving accommodations, in bonuses to municipalities, or in increased dividends to the companies.

The reduction of fares, through improved means of rapid transit, however desirable, is really a minor question. It is probably true that by a slight reduction from a five-cent fare the head of a family engaged in mechanical labour, earning perhaps five or six hundred dollars per annum, might save enough to pay taxes, or to offset church and society assessments, or to furnish his family with boots and shoes, in any event extending his power *pro tanto* for the elevation of his family; but he does more than this if he can save time by increased speed. By the old methods of transit from suburbs to the heart of a city a working man in some localities was practically obliged, while working ten hours at his usual occupation, to spend two hours on the horse railway, when now, on one line, by the use of the electric car, he can go to and return from his place of work in half that time, thereby actually adding to his own time an hour each day, practically reducing his busy time from twelve to eleven hours without reduction of wages and without increased expense of transportation. The question of rapid transit, therefore, as seen by this simple illustration, becomes one of ethical consideration. If there is

anything to be gained by adding to the time which men have at their disposal for their own purposes, for intercourse with their families, for social improvement, for everything for which leisure is supposed to be used, then the question of rapid transit is one of far greater importance than that of saving money either to the man who uses transportation or to the company that secures dividends upon its stock. All the efforts that are being made to secure convenient and cheap rapid transit in great cities are those which should bring to their support the help of all men who are seeking the improvement of the condition of the masses.

The second alternative is the improvement of the service by better cars, running more frequently and at higher speed. Such improvements run against a new difficulty. The increase of street traffic arising from business extension in cities is crowding the street area, which cannot be enlarged to any extent in old cities like Boston, New York, or Philadelphia. It remains the same for the accommodation of present population and business as it was generations ago. The crowding of streets with the transportation essential for the movement of goods, increases with great rapidity, but when the crowding is augmented or perhaps doubled by the presence of the means of transporting passengers, the difficulties involved are almost appalling. With every increase of population the companies having in charge transportation facilities must, in order to accommodate the public, add more cars and more animals — if animals are the motive-power — and so rapidly add to the already crowded condition of streets. This process is one which attacks the health and the safety of the people. The presence of so many heavy animals constantly moving through the streets is a very serious matter; the vitiation of the air is alone a sufficient reason for their removal, while the crowded condition of the streets impedes business, whether carried on with teams or on foot, and involves the safety of life and limb. It is a positive necessity from this point of view, that the problems connected with rapid transit should be speedily

solved, and this feature demands the efforts and the support of sanitarians. With the removal of tracks from the surface, and with tunnels built in such a manner as to be free from dampness and to secure light and air and be easy of access, as has been done in London and in Boston, all the insanitary conditions of street railway traffic will be at once and for ever removed; and if private capital cannot be interested to a sufficient extent to undertake such measures, then municipal governments must see to it that the health of the community is not endangered by surface traffic. When this question is allied to the ethical one, and when one considers the advantages to be gained, first, through securing rapid transit from the crowded portions of cities to the suburbs, and, second, by removing rapid transit traffic from the surface to underground viaducts, the importance of the whole problem becomes clearly apparent, and not only the importance of the problem, but the necessity of its solution.

Such facts as are obtainable seem to indicate that, as a matter of economy, the very best equipment can be used without increasing the tax upon individual passengers. If underground roads can be used without at first increasing such tax, and still offer a reasonable compensation for capital invested, the gains to the people at large offer an inducement to capital, while the many considerations of health and morals offer men who desire to use their means for the benefit of their kind an opportunity that has not existed in the past.

79. The Question of Municipal Ownership.

There are some very grave questions connected with rapid transit outside of matters of convenience or health, and they relate to the different methods of operating street railways. Great complaint is made in many places that corporations have obtained without cost valuable franchises, and then have capitalised them for large face values, on which dividends must be paid, — in other words, that corporations induce city governments to grant franchises for nothing, on the ground

of public convenience, and then charge the citizens rates which enable the company to pay a dividend on stock of a fictitious value, thereby making the citizens pay a return on what they have granted as a gift. In some States corporations pay certain sums to municipalities for the franchises granted, thus securing to the municipal treasury some pecuniary advantage. These matters, taken in connection with the general agitation of the subject of municipal ownership and control of quasi-public works, have tended to create a very emphatic demand that cities shall put under their own control, perhaps to the extent of ownership, the whole street-railway business. Very many men who would consent to or approve of cities keeping control of water-works, and perhaps gas and electric-light works, oppose most strenuously the municipalisation of street railways.

This question has been discussed recently in a most enlightened way by a special committee appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts to consider the relations between street-railway companies and municipal corporations. The report of this committee, drawn by Charles Francis Adams, and published in February, 1898, deals in part with the municipalisation of street railways; the committee states that its warmest exponents admit that so far as street railways are concerned, municipalisation is a most important and far-reaching proposition, but as yet in the experimental stage. This is the view, probably, of all enlightened students of the subject. Many of the arguments are drawn from the experience of Great Britain, where the tendency towards municipal ownership or control of street railways is very pronounced; as a system, it can be studied in its tentative stages in Glasgow, Leeds, and other places. The committee named refers to the experience of Great Britain as follows: —

In thus studying it, however, one thought immediately suggests itself to an American. So far as development, activity, and material and scientific appliances and equipment are concerned, apart from permanent way and track surface, the American street rail-

way service is so far in advance of any to be found in Great Britain as not to admit of a comparison. Without exaggeration, it may be said that, while the street surfacing, and merging of track with pavement, are there far in advance of what we ordinarily find in America, all the other appliances and accommodations are either antiquated and positively bad, or recently taken from this side of the Atlantic and installed by American companies. In other words, in the field of scientific apparatus and mechanical development, America has experimented at immense cost, as our street railway capitalisation shows, while Europe has patiently waited, and is to-day rapidly and quietly appropriating the results for which we have paid. As respects municipalisation, the conditions are likely to be reversed. Foreign countries, and more especially Great Britain, seem disposed to experiment, and experiment on a very considerable scale; and perhaps it would be wise for America to allow these countries in this matter to bear the cost of so doing, sure of our ability at any time to appropriate all the useful results of foreign experience.

As yet no attempt at the municipalisation of street railways has been made in any country on a sufficiently large scale and for a long enough time to be of real significance. Glasgow and Leeds, for instance, are the two European instances more frequently referred to. From the statements often met with in the press, and the assertions heard in discussion, it might well be assumed that the experiments made in these cities amounted to an indisputable and established success; whereas, in point of fact, such is not the case. So far from being a demonstrated success, it may, on the contrary, be confidently asserted that nowhere, as yet, has the experiment of municipalisation of street railways been worked out to any logical and ultimate results whatever, nor can it be so worked out for at least a score of years to come. Even then, political habits, social traditions, and material and economical conditions vary so greatly, and enter to so large an extent into the problem, that it will not be safe to infer that what may have proved safe and practicable in one community is either practicable or safe in another. At the present time, the municipalisation of the street railways is not accepted as by any means indisputably desirable in Great Britain, while in Germany it is regarded unfavorably. This last fact is the more noteworthy, as Germany has been the field in which State ownership and management of steam railroads has been developed to the fullest extent, and with results pronounced to be unquestionable, as well as most satisfactory.

Like municipalisation in other directions, experience only can determine what system will ultimately be adopted. Economy of service, speed with safety, the accommodation of the public, — all must be considered and practically demonstrated.

A minor difficulty, but one that must be considered, is the obstacle which arises on account of lines of street railways passing from the highways of one city to those of another; but it may be overcome through co-operative measures, when actual experience shows which is the better method. One city is not likely to own lines of its own and to operate them in connection with neighbouring contiguous cities where the lines are owned by private corporations.

80. The Slum Question.

In all great cities there are districts known as slums, or places in which dirty streets, inhabited by a squalid and criminal population, are to be found, and in which the low and dangerous classes congregate. Typical slums may be either streets or tenements, or blocks of houses: more frequently they are alleys or *culs-de-sac*, the street or alley being very narrow, badly paved, with more or less surface drainage, and littered with garbage and débris. The buildings themselves are old, badly lighted, with narrow stairways, dark corridors, small rooms, and filthy closets; they are more like dens than residences.

The question of how to deal with the slums of great cities is intimately connected with that of rapid transit. As shown in the chapter on Urban and Rural Population, the denizens of the slums of cities are being crowded out through the encroachments of business, and they must of necessity seek homes in the suburbs; but the encroachments of business alone will not remove the worst places to be found in our great towns. The cities themselves, as bodies politic, must, through their governments, take decisive measures in this direction. Glasgow removed some of its plague-spots a few years ago by projecting broad avenues through them. Other cities in Great

Britain have taken the same method, and it is probably the only way by which people can be compelled to live in healthful localities. It is an expensive process at first, but in the long run the city that resorts to it will gain as a city, while the inhabitants as individuals will gain much more.

To the slum question is devoted the Seventh Special Report of the United States Commissioner of Labour, and the results of his investigation show that the conditions of slum life are not so appalling as they are often painted. A very thorough examination of the slums shows that their inhabitants are quite as free from sickness as those of other localities, while as wage-receivers their earnings are equal to those of persons living in better conditions. The people of the slums are too often very contented. Self-satisfaction is not the only point, however. The slums are the breeding places of vice, and furnish a resort for the disorderly and vicious; there should not be in our modern civilisation any place dedicated to such a class. The dispersion of such evil-minded persons by official action of city governments is a service in the interest of the whole. It is a hopeful sign, as shown by the figures given above (§§ 68, 69), that the congested districts of cities do not and cannot increase in their population, but the movement of decentralisation can be accelerated and the slum population greatly reduced and ultimately removed. Many philanthropic and benevolent enterprises are doing much in the way of reclaiming people who are fond of the slums, and are bringing to them some of the light and the life which come of better ways. College settlements, guilds, and all the instrumentalities projected by modern altruism are doing good work in these directions, but an arbitrary conversion of alleys and slum districts into broad business avenues can accomplish more than all the other instrumentalities together. The difficulty lies in the fact that in the slum districts of great cities there are residents of the highest respectability, people living in their own houses, and who for various reasons remain in their old places. Hence the statistics of slum wards always show an average condition differing some-

what from that which really belongs to those who live there by preference, and who there find associates of their own level.

81. Housing of the Poor.

An allied question next claims attention, — the housing of the poor and the efforts which are made through philanthropic interest or otherwise to provide decent, respectable homes. It is still a moot question how far the municipal governments should undertake to furnish houses for those having occupations of the lowest grade. Nothing has been done in this direction as yet by municipal governments in this country, but the success of the city of London and other cities in Great Britain furnishes strong argument for the cities of America to change plague-spots into profitable residential localities. There are, of course, many difficulties attending the rehousing of people, as shown in the experience of Naples. People are wedded to certain localities, without reference to their healthfulness or desirability, and dislike much to leave them. Temperament, association, inertness, many human elements, stand in the way of improving the housing of the poor.

London owns about 760 tenements, having over 2,000 rooms, while Glasgow has spent a large sum of money in the treatment of the slum question, and has transformed some of the worst places in that city into attractive dwellings. Birmingham, Huddersfield, Liverpool, Manchester, Dublin, Edinburgh, and many other places, own dwellings which they rent at low rates: in Birmingham the rent is 5*s.* 6*d.* ($1.34) per week; in Liverpool three rooms rent for 5*s.* 6*d.* per week, the rate being graded down to smaller rentals. Some of the cities of the United Kingdom also have control of municipal lodging-houses.

American cities[1] have followed the example of individual philanthropists, notably that of George Peabody and Sir Sidney Waterlow of England. In the sixties Mr. Peabody gave in successive instalments £500,000 in trust for the purpose of

[1] Eighth Special Report, U. S. Commissioner of Labour.

improving the housing of the working people in London. Sir Sidney Waterlow's company, the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company of London, opened its first model tenement in 1863. These efforts proved successful, and they have been followed in many places in the United Kingdom and on the Continent, a very great amount of good being accomplished through the erection of model tenements.

Such enterprises very naturally found patrons in America, and they have followed the English example. The American enterprises have, as a rule, been the results of investment by capitalists who were content with a small dividend. The American buildings have been an improvement in some respects upon the English, more attention having been paid to securing individual home tenements. It is a notable fact that in such experiments, with rare exception, capital has received a fair return, while offering to the man of small means the opportunity to secure either a very much better home at the ordinary rate of rental, or to find a lodging of his usual grade at a less cost.

The results of all these enterprises have been so satisfactory that great companies are constantly being organised for the purpose of building suburban homes, with a view to taking the people out of the congested districts of cities and furnishing them with respectable, comfortable homes, provided with baths and all the modern conveniences found in houses at reasonable rates, rapid transit making homes even many miles out of the city accessible at no greater loss of time in going to and from the working place than when the working-man lived in the city. Oftentimes there has been a positive saving of time, which has added to the real day of the wage-earner. These enterprises, however, have not always been undertaken to aid the working-man, but to furnish a neat and attractive suburban home to men working on moderate salaries.

American cities will find it to their advantage ultimately to take some part in this movement, either by aiding rapid transit or in so controlling slum districts as to induce the residents

to move into more sanitary localities. Manufacturers themselves have done a great deal in this direction by moving their plants outside the city and taking with them their employees. Where a city has grown up around a manufactory the proprietors have often, since the planting of the factory system in this country, done much towards securing respectable home surroundings for their people, as, for example, in South Manchester, Conn. There have been complications and difficulties, for city governments have not always aided, even in moderate degree, the efforts of employers to erect and preserve the homes of their employees; but under the enlightened education of the people in sanitary methods, city governments are doing more and more by enforcing sanitary regulations to prevent the spreading of disease. It has long been the legal theory that government could not step into a private dwelling until infectious disease was discovered there; but of late years, through the power of expressed public will, it is found more judicious and more economical to quarantine disease and prevent an epidemic through contagion than to wait and undertake to rid the community of it.

The problem of the housing of the people in the receipt of small incomes is in fair way of solution through the combined interests of philanthropy and capital. These efforts do not have any relation to charity, but to the building of character through the self-respect which comes of living in clean and well-ordered homes. The experience in the town of Pullman, near Chicago, offers excellent evidence of the influence which well-ordered homes have upon those who are first brought in contact with them, or who have never had the pleasure of living in them (see below, ch. xix.). The first effect is to set the housewife to putting her own house to rights and bringing it to the standard of the neighbours who have preceded her. Clean streets, sanitary conditions, frequent parks, a well-constructed house, with every convenience for cleanliness within it, furnish object lessons which cannot long be ignored. The capitalist who is willing to make an investment in the building of homes and

receive for it a meagre dividend, is, after all, the true philanthropist, because he puts his tenant on a business basis and at the same time assures him of his interest in his welfare. But the builder of model dwellings must have the co-operation of the municipality in many ways, especially in all the departments of inspection, paving, water supply, street cleaning, garbage works, and everything that can and must be done for the whole people through general taxation.

82. Rented Houses.

The fact that a very large proportion of the people in cities live in rented homes is often used to prove that the home itself is degenerating. It may be proved, perhaps, that the reverse is the truth, and the fact that families can now hire neat and commodious tenements at reasonable prices indicates better conditions than formerly existed. To own one's home is well; but if by owning it one is compelled to live in insanitary surroundings or to feel tied to a locality when business would demand a removal, thus entailing a loss, another side of the question is brought out. Where dwellings are erected by one capitalist in such numbers as to warrant the best at the lowest cost, the family may be quite as well off, so far as home life is concerned, and perhaps far better off, in a rented house than in one which it owns. At least a large percentage of the families in cities live in rented tenements. The statistics show that of the families occupying homes in the 420 cities and towns in the United States having 8,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, over 64 per cent are tenants and less than 36 per cent owners; and of the families occupying homes in the 28 cities having 100,000 or more inhabitants, 77+ per cent are tenants and 22+ per cent are owners; while of the families occupying homes outside of cities and towns having 8,000 or more inhabitants, 56+ per cent are tenants and 44— per cent are owners.

The data for comparison with the past — even a score of years ago — are not numerous enough to warrant their use,

though the facts for a few of the largest American cities may be interesting. In 1890[1] there were 312,754 families in New York City; of these, 292,956 occupied rented homes, only 19,798 families living in their own homes. In Brooklyn there were 170,732 families; of these 139,040 occupied hired homes, and 31,692 lived in their own houses. Philadelphia, which has been called the city of homes, had 204,292 families, 157,803 of which lived in rented homes, and 46,489 in their own homes. Boston had 89,613 families, with 73,101 living in rented houses, and 16,512 in their own homes. In Chicago there were 219,690 families; of these, 156,566 lived in rented homes, and 63,124 in owned homes, the proportion of families living in their own homes being greater than in Philadelphia. Baltimore had a very large proportion of families living in their own homes, for out of 86,457 families, 63,926 lived in rented homes, and 22,531 in their own homes. Here, again, the proportion is larger than in Philadelphia.

83. Public Baths.

Another European experience is being followed in American cities, — that of maintaining public bathing establishments. For many years free baths have been maintained during the summer months, but only recently have appropriations been made for the erection and maintenance of permanent public bath-houses. European cities have for some years pursued the policy of erecting and sustaining municipal baths, Liverpool claiming the credit of being the first large city to establish at public expense a bath-house for the benefit of the people. As far back as 1794 the corporation of Liverpool purchased a private swimming-bath establishment, at a cost of £4,000, which was used until 1820, when it was removed to make way for a dock. In 1828 St. George's Baths, so-called, were erected by the corporation at a cost of about £25,000; this establishment is still in use. Glasgow, Manchester, London, Berlin, Vienna, and Budapest have furnished

[1] Report on Homes, etc., Eleventh Census.

America with abundant experience as to the best methods of locating, planning, and maintaining baths for the people; and on account of the benefits which have resulted from the establishment of municipal baths, New York, Chicago, Boston, Buffalo, and Brookline, Mass., have made appropriations for the erection of public bath-houses. Some of them are finished and in use. In all probability this beneficent policy will become popular and general in crowded cities.

As people live in modern well-built dwellings, and at rentals no higher than are charged for uncomfortable and inconvenient tenements, they become imbued with the necessity of what was at first considered a luxury. In this way the model dwelling movement has furnished the inspiration for the municipal bath, and the free bath and its consequent benefits are being extended to schools and manufacturing establishments. The employers of labour on a large scale have for many years, and in various places, seen the good results of establishing commodious bath-houses in connection with their works. Invention here finds a field in providing methods for supplying tubs and showers of hot water quickly, for the installation of cleansing baths for workmen in mines, factories, foundries, etc., and under various circumstances secures economic methods of bathing. The idea of charity does not enter into this matter any more than into the other methods which municipalities have adopted for securing and maintaining sanitary conditions everywhere. The health of the town should command the earnest attention of municipal governments. The municipal bath does not pauperise the users thereof, and clean water does not degrade; a small charge is usually made to users of this necessary luxury.

84. Market Systems in Relation to Cost of Living.

That a city government should exercise its authority, certainly its influence, over the location and management of markets is becoming a most important question in city administration. In some cities in Europe, especially Berlin, great

markets are located in different parts of the city in such a way that belt lines of railway can bring food products directly to them. In this way the inhabitants are enabled to secure their supplies without many handlings, and thus at the lowest cost. In this country the great markets in our large cities send out the necessary supplies from their central buildings to jobbers and retailers in different parts of the city. They must be taken from the railroad to the central market-house, and thence to the places of distribution, such as branch markets, retail shops, etc., from which they are distributed to the purchasers. This involves several handlings of the goods, and necessarily increases the cost to the consumer. In a few American cities, even of some size, an attempt is made to remove these difficulties, as, for example, in Cleveland the farmers carry their products directly to the market-house, and there sell them to the consumer, with no middleman's profit; and branch markets, open different days in the week, enable the marketmen to serve various sections of the city; but no American city has a system equal to that of some foreign cities.

Looking over all the problems which accompany city life, or which arise out of the necessities of dense populations, the conclusion must be reached that the man of ordinary means can secure the greatest possible return for a very small outlay of money; in fact, there never was a time in the history of the world when the people of cities could secure so much for so little as at the present time. And all this is not at the expense of the self-respect of the citizen; he is elevated and taught to think more of himself because he is a citizen of a municipality which cares for his welfare. At all events, he should understand that under all bad governments there is to be found a higher death rate; that sickness is a charge on the community as well as on the individual; and that good and wholesome rule in the municipality has an influence on the lives of the poor especially that is all-pervading, for it touches every phase of their being: they are the very first to suffer from the effects of bad government.

Part IV.

Questions of the Family.

CHAPTER X.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

85. References.

United States, *Eleventh Census*, *Reports on Population*, of which specific references are: on numbers (§ 86), I. clxxix, on races (§ 87), I. clxxxiii; Joel Prentiss Bishop, *Commentaries on the Law of Marriage and Divorce;* Richmond Mayo-Smith, *Statistics and Sociology;* Charles F. Thwing, *The Family: An Historical and Social Study;* Edward Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage;* C. N. Starcke, *The Primitive Family;* Ch. Letourneau, *The Evolution of Marriage;* U. S. Commissioner of Labour, *Report on Marriage and Divorce,* especially on Statistics of Divorce (§ 93), and Legal Causes of Divorce (§ 94); F. G. Cook, *The Marriage Celebration in Europe*, *The Marriage Celebration in the Colonies*, and *The Marriage Celebration in the United States*, all in *Atlantic Monthly*, LXI. 245, 350, 520 respectively (Feb.–Apr., 1888); Samuel W. Dike, *Reports of National Divorce Reform League* (now National League for the Protection of the Family), *Sociological Notes* in *Andover Review*, XI. 427 (Apr., 1889), *Uniform Laws of Marriage and Divorce* in *Arena*, II. 399 (Sept., 1890), and *Statistics of Marriage and Divorce* in *Political Science Quarterly*, IV. 592 (Dec., 1889); T. D. Woolsey, *Divorce and Divorce Legislation;* Lester F. Ward, *Dynamic Sociology*, I. 130, 604, 677; Franklin H. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, ch. iv. 349; John Alexander Gemmill, *Parliamentary Divorce* (a work in which will be found a valuable account of the origin and history of parliamentary divorce in England, in addition to accounts of divorce in Canada).

86. The Married and the Single.

The most important topic relative to the family is that of marriage and divorce; for the integrity of society rests upon the integrity of the family, which is the social unit and the keystone of society. The basis of the whole question is a

study of the actual conditions as they now exist in the United States.

All questions affecting labour, and many which concern the moral condition of the country, must take account of the proportions of married and unmarried persons. This interesting sociological study forms a considerable part of the census reports of European countries, usually under the designation of "civil condition." In 1890 trustworthy statistics relating to the single, married, widowed, and divorced in the United States were collected and have been made available. We have, therefore, for the first time in this country, complete data of the conjugal condition of the whole population, properly classified as to sex, colour, general nativity, and ages.

In the United States there is a wide-spread belief that marriages are relatively less frequent than they used to be, and less numerous than in other countries. The unyielding statistics show that impression to be unfounded. Out of the total population of 1890 (62,622,250), 28,799,763 were under 20 years of age, and nearly all of them must be, and for our purpose all of them will be, excluded from the calculation. Out of every 100 adults in the United States in 1890, about a fourth were single, two-thirds were married, and less than one-tenth widowed. Of the men 31 were single, 64 married, and 5 widowed, out of every 100. Of the women 20 were single, 67 married, and 13 widowed, out of every 100. In other words, the likelihood that a given man will be married if he lives to be twenty is about two to one; that a given woman will be married is about four to one. If the distinctly unhealthy and deformed are left out of account, the proportions will be still larger.

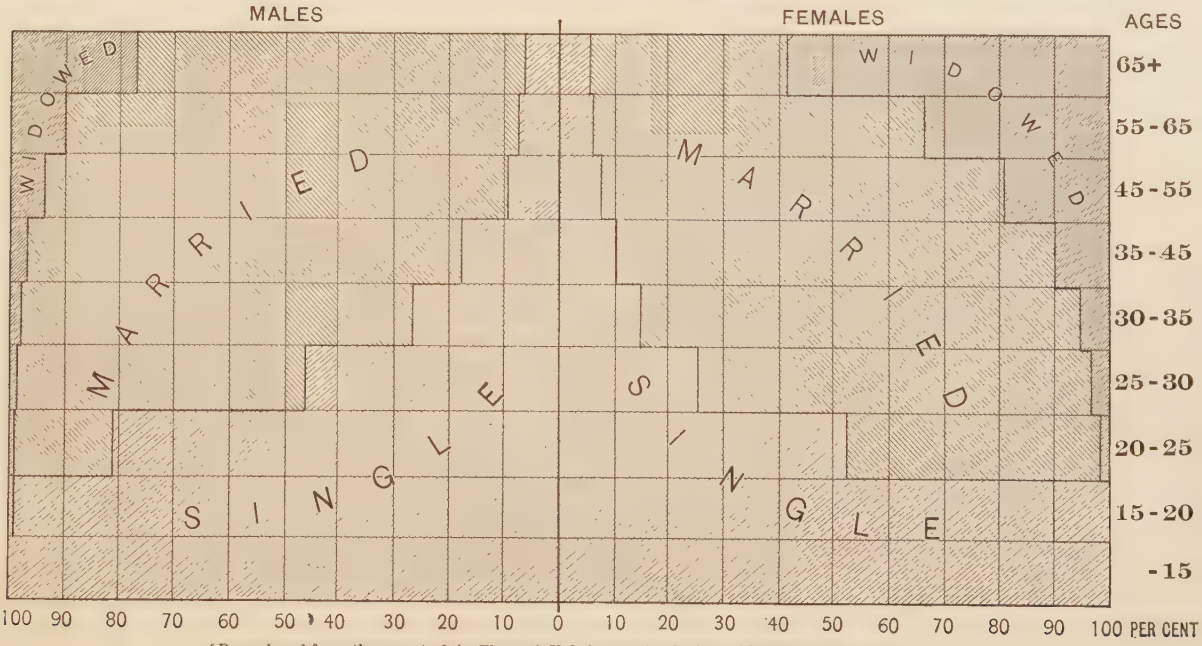
On the other hand, the average likelihood of marriage is diminished by the remarriages. Out of every 100 widowed persons, there were but 27 males as against 73 females; and out of every 100 divorced persons not remarried, the males numbered but 41, whereas the females numbered 59; that is, men are more likely than women to marry again.

These results may be compared with data for certain foreign

DIAGRAM SHOWING BY AGE AND SEX

THE CONJUGAL CONDITION OF THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

ON JUNE 1, 1890, IN PROPORTIONS OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF EACH ELEMENT.



[Reproduced from the report of the Eleventh U. S. Census, for Outline of Practical Sociology.]

countries,[1] showing conditions practically similar to those existing in the United States.

Although there are two partners to every marriage, the excess of married males over married females among the adult population in the United States in 1890 was, in round numbers, 377,000, very nearly five times the excess of married males when the whole population without regard to age is considered. This excess, which at first glance seems paradoxical, can be readily accounted for; the great bulk of immigration which has come to this country in recent years has been composed largely of adult males (probably three-fifths of the whole number), a large part of whom are married, but who are not, as a rule, joined by their families until they become established in some fixed occupation. Since they come principally from the ranks of unskilled labour, their securing permanent employment is problematical, and they are unable or they hesitate to send for their families.

The steady stream of emigration from the East to the West has naturally taken a considerable proportion of the male population from the older States of the Atlantic divisions, leaving in those divisions an excess of females in nearly every State. This emigration of males to the more westerly States, aided largely by foreign immigration, three-fifths of which, as stated,

[1] Per Cent of Persons Twenty Years of Age and Over, in 1890, of each Conjugal Condition in the United States and Foreign Countries.

	Number in each 100 adults.			Number in each 100 adult males.			Number in each 100 adult females.		
	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.
United States . .	26	65	9	31	64	5	20	67	13
England and Wales	29	61	10	29	65	6	28	58	14
Scotland	34	55	11	35	59	6	35	51	14
Ireland	41	47	12	44	49	7	37	46	17
Austria-Hungary .	31	59	10	33	62	5	28	58	14
Belgium	35	55	10	37	56	7	32	55	13

is made up of males, has given to the West Central and extreme Western States an undue proportion of males as compared with females.

87. Marriages compared by Races.

In the United States, as in other countries, there are differences in the marriage rates of various social classes in the community, but in this country that difference is rather in favour of the lowest elements. Classification by general nativity and colour is in a measure a classification by station in life. The native whites of native parentage, taken as a whole, form the highest class in the community, as indicated by education, occupation, and freedom from criminality and pauperism. The native whites of foreign parentage occupy a middle position in this regard, while the foreign whites in the North and the negroes in the South occupy the lowest position in the scale. From the statistics[1] it appears that among the native white population of native parentage two-thirds are now married; the proportion in the foreign white population is practically the same, and also among the negro population, save that in the latter case there are fewer single persons and more widows and widowers.

The native whites of foreign parentage show a striking divergence, for which it is hard to account. Instead of a proportion of one-fourth of single persons, more than two-fifths are single,

[1] Per Cent of Persons Twenty Years of Age and Over of each Conjugal Condition, by General Nativity and Colour.

General Nativity and Color.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.
Native Whites — Native Parents . . .	24	67	9	29	66	5	19	68	13
Native Whites — Foreign Parents . .	42	54	4	49	49	2	35	59	6
Foreign Whites . .	23	67	10	28	66	6	16	68	16
Negroes	21	67	12	25	69	6	16	65	19
Total	26	65	9	31	64	5	20	67	13

and few are among the widows and widowers. This indisposition to marry is one of the several anomalies which make the habits of the descendants of foreigners an important problem in the future status of the country.

88. The Contract Theory of Marriage.

One of the most important questions for the well-being of the community is the conception of the legal relations of the status of marriage. Many of the States and Territories have incorporated definitions of marriage into their statutes. About one-half the States conform to the usual and long-accepted doctrine that marriage is a civil contract; others, with perhaps greater accuracy, set forth that marriage is not in itself a contract, but a status acquired by the parties thereto by virtue of the contract, to which the consent of parties capable of making the contract is essential. In either case the contract must be an actual one; the consent must be by parties capable of making it; and there must be no fraud on either side.

But the contract is not an ordinary one, such as can be annulled by agreement of the parties, so long as no one is injured by the annulment. In a marriage contract the State enters in and is concerned in it, lending to it a higher sacredness than that which belongs to ordinary legal contracts. The distinction is clearly set forth by Bishop, one of the ablest writers upon divorce: "That marriage executed is not a contract, we know, because the parties cannot mutually dissolve it; because the act of God incapacitating one to discharge its duties will not release it; because no accepted performance will end it; because no suit for damage will lie for the nonfulfilment of its duties; because these duties are not derived from its terms, but from the law; because legislation may annul it at pleasure, and because none of its other elements are those of contract, but are all of status."

The contract making marriage or underlying marriage cannot be made at all except by legal sanction, and in accordance with legal conditions, and the tendency is to alter those con-

ditions as time goes on. Westermarck, in his "History of Human Marriage," points out that these conditions have shown an evolution in various ways: —

"The dominant tendency of this process at its later stages has been the extension of the wife's rights. A wife is no longer the husband's property; and, according to modern ideas, marriage is, or should be, a contract on the footing of perfect equality between the sexes. The history of human marriage is," he says, "the history of a relation in which women have been gradually triumphing over the passions, the prejudices, and the selfish interests of men."

Marriage is generally encouraged by law, especially with a view to putting an end to unhallowed relations between men and women; hence in many States it is provided that marriage between the parents of illegitimate children shall legitimatise such children; or that, in cases of seduction, there shall be suspension of prosecution or penalty upon the marriage of the parties. The suggestion has often been made, sometimes seriously, that a special tax be laid on unmarried men, the argument being that as a result of such tax the marriage rate would be increased.

89. Solemnisation of Marriage.

In general, marriage must be attested by a distinct ceremony, which shall be a matter of record. Among other things, the record must set forth the competence of the persons to enter into the relation. Under the common law in Scotland, and to some extent in this country, the simple assertion of persons before witnesses that they are married, or their living together as man and wife with no explanation to the contrary, constitutes a legal and binding marriage.

In a majority of the States and Territories the laws fix the ages at which the parties are capable of marrying or making a marriage contract, and also establish the ages below which the consent of parents, guardians, or other persons having control of the parties is required.

Laws exist usually as to the degrees of consanguinity or relationship within which marriages are forbidden. They also define the causes for which marriages are prohibited, or which render them invalid, or which are sufficient to render them void from the beginning without legal process, while in some of the States it is provided that such causes only constitute the grounds for judicial proceedings to have the marriage set aside or to make the marriage voidable. Again, causes which in some States render a marriage void or voidable, in others simply constitute grounds for divorce; and, indeed, in some States the same cause which renders a marriage void is also ground for divorce, if that remedy be sought.

Most of the States require a license to be procured by the parties prior to the solemnisation of marriage, and the facts declared at the time of the issuance of the license remain a matter of record. The statutes of all States and Territories, except Pennsylvania and South Carolina, expressly define the classes of persons authorised to solemnise marriages. These are, first, ministers of the Gospel, of any regular denomination; and, secondly, magistrates, or judges, mayors, police justices, and justices of the peace. In France, and in some other countries, there are usually two ceremonies, the religious and the civil, the latter being obligatory in all cases. In the United States the greater part of the marriages are solemnised by clergymen, and in nearly all the States and Territories the person or society solemnising a marriage is required to make a written return or certificate thereof to some official authorised to receive it, and, except in New Jersey, that official is required to record the return. In sixteen of the States and Territories every person solemnising a marriage is required to keep a permanent record. In a few States provision is made for the return of marriages celebrated beyond the limits of the State.

Many of the States provide for the State registration of marriages, usually under the authority of the Secretary of the State Board of Health, the registrar of vital statistics, or the Secretary of State. But since publication of authentic registration of

marriages is unusual, the statistics of marriages are very incomplete. There is either no penalty affixed for not making a return, or the penalty is not enforced; so that there is a large percentage of error in nearly all the official statistics of marriage. The twenty-one States which provide for returns to some State officer do not in general ask for sufficient facts relative to the persons married; the facts that are given are not identical in the various States; and they are compiled so carelessly as to be nearly worthless. In addition to age, parentage, birthplace, nationality, and race, there should be added information as to whether the parties have been divorced or not, and their occupation; thus information of the highest value in the discussion of marriage and divorce would soon be accumulated and the question relieved of some of its present uncertainties. Even in some of the older States, where registration has been made for years, one-tenth of the marriages celebrated do not reach the recorders, and the conclusions that are sometimes drawn from such statistics cannot be trusted. For instance, it is nearly impossible to determine whether marriages in general increase in the same ratio as population increases, though in some of the States with reasonably accurate returns the marriage rate seems not to keep pace with the population rate.

Those who study the divorce question must, before suggesting any changes in divorce laws, carefully consider the marriage laws, and they will find that laxity in the enforcement of such laws is one of the forces which have caused the great divorce movement of the past third of a century. There should be thrown around marriage all the dignity which comes from reasonable formality, publicity, and such permanent records at least as are given to wills, transfers of land, and mortgages of property. If parties can secure a license without trouble, and find no difficulty in finding an official authorised by law to solemnise the marriage, it is not strange that many marriage contracts are carelessly assumed. There should be formality enough to compel thought and some consideration in the

matter, even to the extent, perhaps, of requiring the presence of the recording officer in order to make a marriage valid. The laxity of licenses and registration may not, perhaps, be a cause of the divorce movement, but it is probable that a strict enforcement of such laws would be a cause of diminution of divorce; for it would compel parties to consider that their act is a matter of public concern as well as of private welfare, happiness, or misery. Even the most intelligent people often make unsuitable marriages, and sometimes take upon themselves the marriage vow without a conscientious understanding of the great responsibility which rests upon each to see to it that the marriage be not a failure. How essential it is that more ignorant and less thoughtful people, who do not understand the obligations resting upon each, the sacrifices essential to happiness, the difficulty of accommodating varied temperaments, should be surrounded by all the reasonable safeguards that law can contrive; how grave becomes the action when the obligations are carelessly assumed, and how incumbent upon those who make our laws to see to it that such elements of care as can be required by a statutory provision shall be recognised!

90. The Annulment of Marriage.

Besides the actual setting aside of a marriage legally contracted, to which we give the name of legal divorce, there are various ways by which such unions cease to have effect. Of course, a pre-existing marriage of either party makes the ceremony absolutely null; the guilty one incurs the penalties of bigamy; the guiltless is often a prey to the most cruel and undeserved suffering. Death loosens all bonds, and presumptive death or desertion by absence without tidings for a period of years defined by law, usually from two to seven, will deprive the absent one of all rights in case the other party marries again. The story of Enoch Arden is not infrequently repeated.

The amusement known as "mock marriages" sometimes leads to most distressing consequences. There are cases on

record where such play ceremonies have been held to have fulfilled all the legal conditions, and a subsequent marriage becomes bigamy. In such cases courts will usually pronounce the marriage invalid from the beginning.

In some States the conviction of one party for an infamous crime relieves the wife or husband from marriage, without divorce proceedings. Other causes of annulment are where either party is incapable of marriage from want of age or understanding, or from physical disability, where the consent of either party was obtained by force or fraud, where either party was an idiot or a lunatic, or where either party had a former husband or wife living at the time of the marriage. Whatever the process of annulment, it sets aside the contract of marriage as one never made at all, and it covers the whole period of alleged married life.

91. Divorce.

The ordinary method of dissolving marriage is by judicial decree of divorce; that is, by the dissolution or the partial suspension of the marriage relationship through legal processes. When marriage is dissolved by divorce, and the parties are put back in the position of single persons, the divorce is termed "absolute," or, as law designates it, "divorce *a vinculo matrimonii*," — from the bonds of matrimony. When marriage is only partially suspended by divorce and the parties are separated, but still retain the legal status of married persons, the divorce is termed "limited," or "divorce *a mensa et thoro*," that is, from bed and board.

Such legal dissolution is possible by special act of the legislature, by judicial decree, or by the automatic operation of law. A legislative divorce is simply a bill regularly passed like any special act. The method is unusual in the United States, the only States in which it prevails being South Carolina, and under some circumstances Delaware. The second and usual method is the judicial divorce, which is granted by courts having the jurisdiction given them by law. The conditions of

divorce are very different in various States, but in all, with two or three exceptions, there is provision relative to the length of time of residence of one or both of the parties to an action for divorce, and in the laws giving jurisdiction in divorce cases to the courts are provisions as to procedure and the causes for absolute or limited divorce and the results of divorce.

The laws relating to causes and other matters, with the exception of those of a very few States, chief among which is New York, which grants absolute divorce for scriptural cause only, are more uniform than is generally supposed. Among forty-two general causes for absolute divorce found in one or another State, are comprehended such causes as desertion, cruelty, and the like, while in a very few cases there is an omnibus clause allowing the court to grant a divorce for any cause deemed sufficient by it, and when it shall be satisfied that the parties can no longer live happily together.

Some very curious and amusing causes have been alleged, and divorces have been granted on them, especially to the wife. Among these are the complaints that the husband does not come home until ten o'clock at night, and that when he does return he keeps the petitioner awake talking. Another plaintiff alleges that the husband does not wash himself, thereby inflicting on plaintiff great mental anguish; another declares that the husband sleeps with a razor under his pillow, solely to frighten and distress the plaintiff. In one case it was declared that the defendant made the plaintiff climb a ladder to drive nails in the woodshed, and not liking the way she drove the nails, he lassoed her on coming down from the ladder, tied her fast to the gate-post, and then stuck sticks and straws in her nose and ears, and committed other personal outrages. These trivialities indicate the danger of what is called the "omnibus clause" of causes for divorce.

Whatever the legal provision, the frequency of divorce is much affected by the views relative to the propriety and rightfulness of divorce entertained by theologians and religious bodies. These views may be classified according to

church and denominational doctrines under five heads, as follows[1]: —

First. The Roman Catholic Church, High Church Episcopalians, and some others in other churches, deny the right of absolute divorce, insisting that neither husband nor wife should be able to secure it even for the infidelity of the other.

Second. In English ecclesiastical as well as in English civil law the infidelity of the wife only is the ground of divorce; many American Episcopalians also agree with this view.

Third. The Protestant Episcopal Church of America holds to the right of absolute divorce for the infidelity of either party, and this church, as well as the bodies referred to in the first and second classes, also holds to separation *a mensa et thoro* for sufficient cause. Congregationalists, Baptists, Unitarians, etc., have no authoritative legislative ecclesiastical bodies and therefore cannot be classed by their creedal utterances; but probably most Congregationalists and nearly all Baptists hold to this position. A large and, it may be, growing number of Congregationalists and others tend toward even a more liberal view.

Fourth. The great Presbyterian body (excepting the United Presbyterians and perhaps the smaller divisions) and the Methodist Episcopal Church, allow divorce for infidelity, and for desertion also, but rigidly draw the line at the latter.

Fifth. The Greek and Lutheran Church, and frequently individual writers and exegetical scholars, favour divorce for an indefinite number of causes.

Nearly all countries have delegated divorce jurisdiction to the courts, thereby relieving legislative bodies. In England, for instance, a divorce could be obtained only from the House of Lords; now it is through the High Court of Justice. In Canada, while the subjects of marriage and divorce are vested in the Parliament, that body has not as yet passed any legisla-

[1] For this classification the author is indebted to Dr. Samuel W. Dike, the Secretary of the National League for the Protection of the Family.

tion of a general character; so the divorce courts of the different provinces continue their functions. An insignificant number of divorces has been decreed in Canada, the total number from 1868 to 1886, inclusive, being only 116. There have been many changes during the last generation in the laws regulating marriage and divorce in European countries. Prior to 1868 the ecclesiastical courts had, in Austria, France, the German Empire, Ireland, and Switzerland, more or less complete jurisdiction over matrimonial causes, but the civil courts have now exclusive jurisdiction in all such matters in all of these countries. The experience of France is, perhaps, as marked as that of any country, for under the legislation of 1884 there has been a very great increase in the number of divorces.

92. State and Federal Relations of Marriage and Divorce.

Both marriage and divorce are much complicated by the nature of our Federal government. While men and women go and come, travel freely everywhere, and, as a rule, are nowhere called upon to show documentary evidence of their marriage, or an evidence of settlement, yet the laws of the States are often so conflicting that a legal relation in one State is not recognised in another. In general a valid marriage contracted in one State is valid in another, and thirteen States and Territories so provide; but what of re-marriages of persons who in the State where their divorces were granted could not legally re-marry?

A few of the States provide that marriage after divorce shall be permitted without limitation, but in most of them there is no provision touching the subject of marriage after divorce has been granted; while in fifteen States, wherein marriage after divorce is not expressly allowed, it is provided by law that the penalties for bigamy or other offence shall not extend to persons marrying after having been lawfully divorced from the bonds of matrimony. In like manner, a divorce granted in one State for a cause not recognised in another

may or may not be recognised in the second State. There are therefore some cases in which a man has in one State a wife recognised as legally bound to him there, and another equally bound to him elsewhere. Cases have occurred where a man has left two legal widows, each of whom claimed and got his estate, so far as it lay within the State in which she was married. Of course, the decrees of the court of one State are, in the absence of fraud and a few other conditions, respected in another State.

93. Statistics of Divorce.

The whole number of divorced persons enumerated in the United States in 1890 was 120,996 out of a total population of 62,622,250, the divorced constituting, therefore, but one five-hundredth of the whole population. Eliminating persons less than 20 years of age, there were 119,854 divorced persons of adult age, or one three-hundredth of the whole number of adults. It is noteworthy that while the divorced males of adult age constituted 0.28 per cent of all the adult males, or 1 in 360, the divorced females of adult age made 0.44 of that class, or 1 in 230.

The important comparison, of course, is that of divorced persons to the married. Differences in the composition of the several elements of the population, such as the large proportion of children among the native whites of foreign parentage, and the undue proportion of grown people among the foreign whites, make it necessary to show the extent to which divorce is prevalent. For the United States as a whole, there was one divorced person to 185 married, but there are wide variations in the various parts of the Union. The proportion was smallest in the two Atlantic divisions, and largest in the Western division, and was greater in the Northern divisions than in the Southern. Divorce was decidedly more common among the native whites of native parentage than among the total population.

The foreign whites show a still smaller proportion of di-

vorced, that for the United States being but little more than half the proportion of the native whites of native parentage.

Among the negro population the divorced were more prevalent than among any other classes, the South Atlantic division rising to one for every 125 persons married. In other sections the negro element is not of sufficient importance numerically to render the results of value.[1]

Figures on so important a subject need to be carefully substantiated, though few States provide for statistics of divorce. The Federal statistics are fairly accurate; they are based on data collected by the United States Department of Labour for the period from 1867 to 1886, inclusive, from the records of the courts having divorce jurisdiction. For those twenty years there were granted in the United States 328,716 decrees for divorce, rising from 9,937 in 1867 by steady and rapid increase to 25,535 in 1886. While divorces thus increased two and a half times, the total population of the United States increased only about 60 per cent. Only four States in the Union showed a decrease in their divorce figures. The proportion of divorces to married couples in 1870 was 1 to 664, while in 1880 it was 1 to 481. These figures show the rapidity with which divorces have increased during the twenty years named.

[1] Per Cent of Divorced Persons to Married Persons, by Geographical Divisions, 1890.

Geographical Divisions.	In Aggregate Population.	Among Native Whites, Native Parents.	Among Native Whites, Foreign Parents.	Among Foreign Whites.	Among Persons of Negro Descent.
North Atlantic	0.38	0.54	0.30	0.15	0.45
South Atlantic	0.31	0.28	0.33	0.22	0.38
North Central	0.68	0.82	0.58	0.43	1.36
South Central	0.55	0.41	0.53	0.43	0.85
Western	1.13	1.29	1.21	0.92	2.45
United States	0.54	0.61	0.50	0.34	0.67

Of the 328,716 divorces granted in the United States for the twenty years specified, 216,176, or almost two-thirds of the whole, were granted to wives on their petitions for divorce from their husbands, and 112,540 to husbands for the alleged fault of the wives.

94. Legal Causes of Divorce.

Out of the forty-two causes allowed somewhere or other in the country, more than four-fifths of all decrees include five great causes, — adultery, 20.59 per cent; cruelty, 15.70 per cent; desertion, 38.54 per cent; drunkenness, 4.2 per cent; and neglect to provide, 2.42 per cent. To be sure, the causes alleged do not in all cases accurately disclose the real reasons for which divorces are sought; for parties are quite likely to state that cause which is most easily proved, or which involves the least amount of moral turpitude, or which, if proved, results in the least humiliation to all concerned. On the other hand, the alleged cause is often not the real difficulty, and may not attach to the real culprit; for instance, a cruel, brutal husband so ill-treats his wife that she is compelled to leave him. She is the innocent party, and might have sought and secured a decree for divorce had she been so minded; but the husband files a libel for divorce, setting up the desertion of his wife, and she, glad to rid herself of the cruelty of her husband, makes no defence or opposition; and where both parties are so involved that neither could make out a clear case, divorces are often established by collusion, one party presenting the bill of complaint and the other defaulting.

95. Duration of Married Life.

The duration of marriage before divorce is granted offers an interesting study. Taking all divorces granted during the period 1867–86, it is found that, on the average, the husband had lived 8.97 years with the wife, and the wife 9.27 years with the husband. The averages given are much disturbed, however, by the surprising fact that 25,371 of these divorced

couples had lived together twenty-one years or more; indeed, both husbands and wives in this class averaged nearly twenty-seven years of married life, and in some extreme instances they had lived together forty years.

It is not so easy to ascertain the average duration of married life without regard to divorce, for that average has not been scientifically determined. Only in a few localities in Europe, where a dissolution of marriage, whether by death or by divorce, must be entered upon the certificates issued for the celebration of marriage, have a few facts been gathered. Some calculations by mathematical processes, and by other means here and in Europe, would seem to indicate that the average duration of married life ranges between twenty-one and twenty-six years. If one assume for the purpose of discussion that the duration is twenty-four years, then the average duration of married life of divorced persons is equal to two-fifths of the average duration in general of married life.

96. Migration for Purpose of Divorce: Children.

A vital question connected with divorce relates to the real or supposed migration of parties from one State to another for the purpose of seeking divorce. The popular idea that a great deal of travel takes place for the purpose named is dispelled to some degree by the statistics. Apparently a little less than one-fifth of all the couples divorced in the country were divorced in other States than those in which they were married; but the ordinary interstate movement of population, especially from the older to the newer States, showed in 1870 that more than 23 per cent of the native-born population, and in 1880 more than 22 per cent, were living in States other than the ones in which they were born. The truth seems to be that the residence of a few notorious persons in States having lax divorce laws makes a greater impression on the public mind than is warranted by the facts.

That phase of the question which involves the children of unhappy unions is one which appeals to our sympathies in all

directions. In the investigation referred to, therefore, the number of children involved was ascertained, though imperfectly. In the number of recorded cases (328,716), 57,524 had children, and in 141,810, the children formed no part of the questions arising under the petitions for divorce. This leaves only about 130,000 cases in which children may have played a part in the divorce proceedings.

97. The Evolution of Divorce.

The material facts connected with the number of divorces in this country have been stated as briefly as possible, even at the risk of omitting important conditions which might modify opinions. The situation is unparalleled in any other country. What do the facts mean? What attitude should reasonable people take in relation to the movement? The question cannot be satisfactorily or judiciously considered from either of the usual points of view, from the standpoint of unregulated sentiment on the one hand, or of rigid ecclesiastical doctrine on the other. We must look at it broadly, in its relation to other changes in society, especially with a recognition of the intellectual, social, and industrial equality of woman and her progress toward emancipation in all directions. We cannot assert that divorce is to be considered as an isolated question to be solved off-hand by a single act of the legislature; but we must ascertain whether or not the tendency to divorce means retrogression, whether or not it means a vitiated moral public sentiment, whether or not it is an evil; and we must look the question fairly in the face in all its bearings courageously and honestly.

The evolution of divorce has been as significant as the evolution of marriage; the facts all show us that, however dissimilar may be the countries or the epochs, the union of man and woman begins, with very rare exceptions, by the complete slavery of the latter, and her assimilation to the condition of domestic animals, over which man has all possible rights, and which he may drive away at his will. Then, as the

ages move on their course, we see societies which become by degrees civilised, and in proportion to this advance the condition of woman improves. At first the man could kill her if she displeased him; then, cases of infidelity apart, he contented himself with repudiating her; next, the severity of this right of repudiation, at first unlimited, was mitigated; then it was restricted to certain well-defined cases, and some rights were even granted to the repudiated woman. At length her own right was recognised to seek divorce in order to escape from intolerable treatment. At last a return was made to divorce by mutual consent, which had been allowed before a rigid legislation, generally theocratic, had fixed as permanent law some of the old barbarous customs.[1]

The supposed magnitude of the divorce movement in the United States has led to bitter attacks and even jeers upon this country; to condemnations of our laws, our school system, our prevailing religion, in terms that imply that we are retrograding at a rapid rate. Yet all the while there is not a people anywhere by whom woman is so much respected, honoured, and protected as in America; there is not a land in which she is happier, or in which she holds so exalted a position as in this; there is not a nation that has placed her on so independent a basis, or given her more nearly equal conditions with men before the law. Have these conditions anything to do with divorce? Would the perfect independence of woman, her perfect equality before the law as a voter, accelerate divorce? Is it a disease peculiar to our country or our times?

In the history of mankind, divorce of one from another has always been resorted to, the proceedings varying from the simple decree of the husband declaring his wife divorced, to the cumbersome process of enactment by Parliament. Divorce is undoubtedly more familiar to us, because the processes in this country are quite simple and fairly uniform throughout the States, though the administration of the law

[1] Cf. Ch. Letourneau, *The Evolution of Marriage.*

differs in a greater degree; yet it cannot be urged that law, or the administration of law, is entirely, or even largely, responsible for the vast increase in the number of divorces. To understand the question, we must carry our examination deeper than law or institutions.

98. The Reasons for Divorce.

Statistics of divorce do not fully indicate or measure the marital infelicity or social misery of the country; they only reveal that misery which can no longer abide conditions, the parties to which have the courage publicly to seek release from demoralising burdens; they indicate discontent, but discontent which is not simply nursing a grievance; they suggest the possibility of better things, just as to-day the discontent of the farmers arises from their awakening to the possibility of a more agreeable life.

What is marriage for, if not for happiness, the divine end of all institutions, when sought in its broadest significance? If marriage results in happiness, the divine end has been secured; if marriage does not result in happiness, plainly the divine end of the institution has been sadly missed, and few men deny that in some cases divorce more perfectly secures the divine end than a continuation of the compact which may be laying intolerable burdens on entirely innocent people.

On the other hand, the security of the family, and ultimately of society, depends upon the continued sacredness of the civil contract of marriage. It is easy to see that continuance of marriage is likely to destroy that sacredness in cases of adultery; the divine and the civil purposes of marriage are thus both perverted, happiness has been completely wrecked, and the moral sentiment of society outraged. This eminently sound position, which makes the scriptural cause almost universally indorsed as a righteous reason for the legal dissolution of marriage ties, will hold through all time. In granting this position, those who insist most strictly on a limitation to the one cause have given up their own ground; for any other

cause which also destroys the purpose of marriage, and makes it dangerous, must logically be as adequate for divorce as the scriptural one. The words of Christ, like many of His sayings, can be applied literally only to the social conditions in which He lived; they are not meant to be a code of law for all later generations.

That several causes may be allowed and should be allowed lies in the nature of the problem. Of course by limitations of causes the number of divorces may be vastly decreased. In fact, if divorces are prohibited, the statistics may be entirely wiped out; and so far as figures are concerned, law may secure a perfect immunity from divorce. We might as well say that when the blotches resulting from humours are covered by a beautiful enamel, the human system is therefore freed from their influences, as to say that a continued prohibition of legal divorces would have a tendency to do away with evil practices. Between prohibition of divorce and great freedom of divorce, where shall the line be drawn? We must not be too much influenced by accidental conclusions. It seems probable that contemporaneously with the agitation for what is called the emancipation of woman, or, more popularly, the discussion of the woman's rights question, which means the independence and the social and legal equality of woman, there has been a decrease in marriages relative to the increase of population, a relative increase of illegitimate births, and a very large relative increase in the number of divorces granted. Do these coincidental facts mean anything in relation to the divorce movement?

Contemporaneously, too, there has been an increased industrial and economic independence of woman. Hundreds of occupations are now open to her that a generation ago were effectually closed to her entrance; she is taking magnificent rank in the world of mind, of art, of science; she is demonstrating her birthright to any position she seeks; she is convincing the world that she can successfully, and happily too, enter the struggle in the highest educational fields; higher

institutions of learning are everywhere being opened to her; the right hand of fellowship is freely and magnanimously and courteously extended to her; as a teacher the pre-eminence of her qualifications is acknowledged everywhere; as a preacher she is doing God's service; in the grand healing art she takes her place at the dissecting table, and carries through her professional work with courage and skill. And so in all walks, her independence, economically, socially, and politically, is gradually but rapidly being acknowledged. With increased economic independence she will more and more throw off galling yokes and assume her rightful place, and along with this disposition she is more likely to contract a marriage that will bring to both parties the highest, the purest, and the holiest happiness.

The argument for allowing divorce for several causes, so far as it presents itself to the mind of women at all, does not seem to be one for getting away from husbands *per se*, but for getting away from crushing dependence into a broader life. Under such circumstances, in these new conditions, the divorce movement has naturally been accelerated. The laws do not create the wish; they facilitate the carrying out of wishes; they are the statutory expression of public sentiment. Public sentiment is therefore in favor of easy divorce, because it believes that the end of human institutions is human happiness, and that whatever through human institutions stands in the way of securing these grand ends must be set aside.

But divorce is resorted to for unholy purposes: the guilty seek it that they may enter other marital relations. There is not one step of progress that does not carry along with it apparent and consequent evils or the overturning of individual interests. It is only by going back to a state of barbarism that we should be free from most of the evils that beset society; it is only through enlightenment that we recognise immoral and criminal conditions. Education, science, religion even, all that adorns life in what we call civilised communities, are but cloaks at times for the evil-minded. The

rain falls on the just and on the unjust; refreshing showers give life to the dishonest man's crops as perfectly as they do to those of the saints; but the purity of religion, the integrity of law, the truths of science, the grandeur of civilisation, are not impaired either by the motives or by the actions of the base. When conditions and burdens become too galling to admit of further continuance with the preservation of purity and integrity, we must take the risk of giving facilities which may also be used by impure men and women to secure release from disagreeable, or even hated, marital relations in order to enter others more agreeable, even if more unholy. Shall we deprive the first class of the means of release in order to hold the second to a relation which they openly deride?

"In primitive phases," says Herbert Spencer, "while permanent monogamy was developing, union in the name of the law — that is, originally, the act of purchase — was accounted the essential part of the marriage, and union in the name of affection was not essential. In the present day union in the name of the law is considered the most important, and union by affection as less important. A time will come when union by affection will be considered the most important, and union in the name of the law the least important, and men will hold in reprobation those conjugal unions in which union by affection is dissolved." And Montaigne once wrote: "We have thought to make our marriage tie stronger by taking away all means of dissolving it; but the more we have tightened the constraint, so much the more have we relaxed and detracted from the bond of will and affection."

99. Reformation of Divorce.

That divorce laws often are lax and administered with laxity is certain. The remedy is, however, twofold, — by regulating marriages and by limiting divorces. Marriage should be made more difficult and more impressive, for indiscreet and hasty marriages lead straight to divorce. Publication of the banns; penalties for reckless marrying, to be laid

against the delinquent minister or magistrate; publication of the facts stated in the licenses, — these are some of the possible amendments.

Divorce may be restricted without abridging the reasonable causes for which it is allowable; for instance, law, as it does in some States, might more generally make the guilty party amenable before a criminal court through an indictment; that is to say, if a cause which, if it existed, would be a crime, is proved as a reason for divorce, the case should be transferred at once to the criminal courts. Again, the laws might make the State a party to all proceedings for divorce, so that decrees should no longer be granted, as now, after *ex parte* evidence, where it is not the duty of any one to cross-examine the witnesses for the petitioner, and where it is not the desire of the libellee to appear in the case. The State fosters the marriage contract, — is, in fact, almost a party to it; it would be well, then, if the State should be represented when the attempt is made to set the contract aside. Laws might make re-marriage after divorce more difficult; in fact, it has sometimes been urged that law should say that the party against whom a decree has been granted should never re-marry. Many complications would arise under such an order of things; indeed, they are seen where law forbids the defendant's re-marriage. For instance, if a wife secures a decree of divorce from her husband, he being proved to be guilty of the alleged cause, and the wife only should be permitted to re-marry, the husband would still be a married man to all intents and purposes so far as law is concerned, and, should he re-marry, would be guilty of bigamy or adultery, while the wife might re-marry without being subject to the penalties of the law. Yet it is probably true that the ingenuity of legislators may make it more difficult for divorced parties to re-marry; at least, they might provide that re-marriage should not be permitted without proper proceedings, as is the case in some States. Methods of procedure, notice of intended proceedings, testimony, the general administration of divorce laws, might be reformed. Action in

all these directions, in connection with making marriage laws more stringent, or in securing their better enforcement, would result in throwing safeguards around processes that are constantly abused. One of the most hopeful projects is for joint action of State legislatures in enacting marriage and divorce laws which have been drawn up by commissions representing several States; it bids fair to do much with the anomalies and difficulties of interstate relations.

But new laws, reforms in the methods of procedure, restrictions at the start, when parties unite in marriage, or at the close, when the marriage is dissolved, can accomplish but little so long as the community considers easy divorce desirable. It is often urged that the best way to prevent ill-advised marriages is to make people stick to them when made. This would be true and effective in a certain degree were it not for the fact of separations, either by law or by agreement, which take place where divorce is absolutely prohibited or not practised, and which result too often in one or the other party, or both, living a life of licentiousness and immorality, which causes far more suffering and social disorder than occur as a result of legal divorce. In a religious and ideal state there can be no crime; in the actual state there is much crime, and the legislator must meet the conditions of society as he finds them. In heaven there is to be no marrying and no giving in marriage; in the actual life of the present, marriage, for various motives, holy and unholy, is the rule, and the legislator, even with the highest ideal of religion before him, and in his heart and mind, must consider the actions of men as he finds them. Legal amendments are useful to a certain extent as indicating public sentiment, and as leading to the correction of abuses; but they are in the nature of surface treatments; they do not recognise the changes of social conditions any more than quack remedies recognise constitutional physical conditions or that certain weaknesses are developed by growth.

If the prohibition or serious restriction of divorce would be an abhorrent step toward remanding woman to her old condi-

tions, it is equally true that "the annihilation of the family is the suicide of the human race." This ugly question is a two-edged sword, that may be turned aside only by an enlightenment which comes from the highest moral culture, through the more perfect independence of woman, and the knightly recognition of her true sphere by the men of the coming age. By nature she has borne and bears the severest burdens, burdens which claim for her not only the deepest sympathy of man, but that close and loving companionship which is born of her recognition as an equal, a recognition which can never come when she is considered as a subordinate or as an inferior.

There is much in the further thought that marriage takes place in the hearts and minds of the parties to it; that the ministerial act is one which has been ordained by law for the purpose of defining the legal status of the parties. This latter is in the interest of the succession of property, the rights of children, etc. Law does not make the marriage in the holiest sense; this can be done only by the parties. So, on the other hand, law does not create divorce; divorce occurs when the husband and wife are estranged. Law steps in and defines the status of the divorced parties, but does not create it.

The pressure for divorce finds its impetus outside of laws, outside of our institutions, outside of our theology: it springs from the rebellion of the human heart against that slavery which binds in the cruelest bonds human beings who have, by their haste, their want of wisdom, or the intervention of friends, missed the divine purpose as well as the civil purpose of marriage. The welfare of society depends upon an enhanced purity, a sublimer sacredness, a more beautiful embodiment of Lamartine's trinity: "The father, the mother, and the child which perpetuates their being, unceasingly reproduce the trinity, which of itself completes and continues the race."

CHAPTER XI.

EDUCATION.

100. References.

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101. The Duty of Education.

Education is a mark of civilisation. Wherever in the history of the world tribes, communities, States, or nations have made any advance, they have provided in some way for the education either of a part or of the whole of the population. In nearly all the countries of Europe mediæval education was under the care of scholars, and in some of governments, and it played an important part in the movements of the Protestant reformers and also in the reaction in favour of the papacy under the Jesuits. Intellectual culture was necessarily associated in the mind of Luther with religious reform. In

1528 Melanchthon drew up the plan of studies which was followed in the Protestant common schools of Germany till the close of the century. The pupils learned to read, to write, and to sing, and made some progress in the study of Latin. Universities flourished in mediæval times, being founded in nearly all the great countries of Western Europe. The Catholic Church cultivated science as then understood, and employed the authority of learning in favour of hierarchical power.

Yet not until modern times did the great distinction between education for classes and that for the whole people occur. In the olden times, either mediæval or ancient, teachers for the few was the rule; the modern idea is, teachers for all. Nearly all European countries thus have some system of public education, England being among the latest to adopt its public-school system, while its widest extension is to be found in America.

It is but natural that the primary interest in education centres in the family, for out of the efforts to carry on the family system of education grew the public-school system. The inadequacy of private effort, because of the expense and disinclination, has led governments to establish some free system under which all the children of certain ages should be brought within their influence. In the various States the growth of the public-school system has not been uniform. The New England colonies early in their history made some provision for common-school training. The Middle States came later, while in the Southern States it is only within recent years that public education has been the rule. Broadly, it may be said that the North once represented the free-school system and the South the individual or family system; but now throughout the whole country the public-school system is firmly established, and in many States is imbedded in provisions of their constitutions.

At the present time there are four systems or methods of education, — first, through home instruction, which is sometimes supplemented by teachers and governesses. The advan-

tage claimed for this method lies in the fact that the pupil is constantly under home influences, and thus receives moral as well as intellectual training. The disadvantage is that it deprives the pupils of that association which under our modern institutions is essential for the growth and development of the best order of citizenship. It is an expensive method, and can be adopted only by those who have the means; it perpetuates in a certain sense aristocratic notions; and while it may be advantageous in some respects to the children concerned, it robs the mass of children of the influence of those living under better conditions.

The second method is through private schools, a very natural outgrowth of the system of home instruction. These schools are usually for richer children, whose parents do not care to have them enter the rigid classification of the public schools, or to associate with all those who may be brought into the latter. Private schools have the same disadvantages that accompany home instruction; yet, as an advantage, parents can more easily guide the grade of education to be acquired. Among them are to be found some of the very best schools in the country. They take children from primary departments through all the grades intermediate and connected with the public high schools. The highest grade of private schools are usually called seminaries, and are more generally for young ladies whose parents desire to fit them in a polished way for their place in society, securing instruction for them in the more cultured branches of education and some of the advantages of social life. They do not rank with colleges, although many of them have in their curricula the branches taught in the colleges. One of the disadvantages of private schools is that those who support them must also contribute to the public schools, and that, as in the case of home instruction, the pupils do not have the advantage of association with all classes, which in republics is claimed to be essential for the development of the highest grade of citizenship.

The third method of education in vogue, both here and in

Europe, is through church schools, wherein not only are the rudiments of a general education taught, but also more or less of the tenets and principles of the particular church establishing the school. The Catholics maintain what are called "parochial schools," and they claim as one of the great advantages of such institutions the opportunity for teaching morals as well as letters. The Episcopalians and Lutherans maintain parochial schools for the same reason, and for the general reason that in the public schools, as is claimed by the adherents of the parochial form of teaching, there is a laxity of moral instruction and consequently a tendency to immoral practices. The church schools oftentimes have a high standard of teaching, but they are in a certain sense clannish in their influences, and must be supported by private or church contributions, while those who support them must also contribute to the maintenance of the public schools.

The fourth method, that which is in general practice and is more generally approved, is the public-school system; this involves teaching from the very lowest or kindergarten grade to the very highest grade of the public schools, and is an integral part of college and university systems. To understand this system, the grades are taken up in the order of their occurrence, without reference to their chronological establishment.

102. The Kindergarten, a School for Youngest Pupils.

Taking up the subject of education in the order of the child's growth, we first reach a modern system for dealing with very young children. Except in a few favoured cities, this work is done in small private schools, supported by tuition or sometimes by subscription or endowment. Churches are doing much in this direction.

The relation of the kindergarten to education generally, whether academic or industrial, is of the utmost importance; but when it is considered in relation to the moral development of the child its importance is vastly increased. The kindergarten is the appropriate place for the training of children in

a moral, intellectual, and practical way before the age at which they may properly be sent to school. It aims to give them control of themselves, of all their powers and skill, so that the subsequent school life for the attainment of a given grade of proficiency is materially shortened, and hence the proficiency of the children during the customary years of school attendance may be materially enhanced. The kindergarten involves not only mental, moral, and manual training, but forms the broadest basis for such training during school life.

The conspicuous and decided effect of kindergartens in preventing the inception and development of criminal tendencies in children exposed by their home life or neglect to such tendencies proves most conclusively that the kindergarten effects an immense pecuniary saving to the community, not only in diminishing expenditures otherwise necessary for police and protective measures, but in rendering what would otherwise be a criminal population a part of the useful, self-supporting, law-abiding membership of the State. In the city of San Francisco attempts have been made to follow the experience of 18,000 children who have been taught in the kindergartens, and out of 9,000 whose subsequent lives have been traced, only one, and he a half-witted person, has ever fallen into the hands of the police. Thus the kindergarten may be considered as the very inception of manual, academic, and moral instruction for children whose home influences are inferior.

For nearly thirty years the kindergarten system has been approved by a large proportion of the foremost educational authorities of this country, and hardly a single year has passed that has not witnessed a material advance in such approval, as evidenced either by new introductions or by extensions in connection with the public-school system. About one hundred and thirty-five cities have engrafted the kindergarten upon the public-school system, while in some of the same, and in many other cities also, many free kindergartens exist, supported by private means, such support in many cases having been the preliminary step to the establishment of the public kindergarten.

Dr. Randall Spaulding, superintendent of the public schools of Montclair, N. J., has crystallised the answer to the question, What does the kindergarten do?[1] The work is carefully graded to suit the growing capacity of the child. In the first gift the simplest objects are given to the child, the coloured balls. He detects resemblances between these and other objects that come within the range of his experience, and so acquires clearness of ideas. The qualities that he discerns are few and simple. In the second gift he receives the hard polished sphere, the cube, and the intermediate form of the cylinder. Now he observes faces, curved and plane; differences in form and surfaces. He is now concerned more than formerly with qualities of things, and receives ideas that are not only clear but distinct. Into the third gift enter the ideas of number and use, while into the three succeeding gifts enter progressively new distinctions of form, colour, and use. The faculties of invention and taste are exercised. In succeeding gifts surfaces, straight lines of equal and unequal length, curved, and variable lines, together with a multitude of applications and illustrations in designing, weaving, plaiting, etc., are studied. The whole is, in short, progressive at every stage.

The child's impulse to bodily activity is gratified. If this impulse is repressed, as is too often the case in our schools, an activity that is abnormal and illegitimate will be forced upon the child. Moreover, bodily activity not only relieves nervous tension, strengthens the muscles, and so conserves the physical health, but it is itself expressive of thought and feeling, and is, therefore, carefully noted by the skilful kindergartner.

The kindergarten develops the child on his social or moral side. He learns that what is customary in the mutual relations of right-thinking people is right. Through the games and through co-operation and associated work he learns that without kindness, justice, and truthfulness social life is neither comfortable nor for any extended time even possible. This social development is one of the highest functions of kinder-

[1] U. S. Commissioner of Labour, *Eighth Annual Report.*

garten work, and generally distinguishes the genuine from the superficial kindergarten.

The nature lessons of the kindergarten teach reverence for life. The biologist is the most tender-hearted of men. Contact and study breed respect for the beautiful and wonderful forms of organic life.

The kindergarten makes prominent use of that combined bodily and mental activity that we may call physio-psychological. Its aim is to co-ordinate the muscles with the will, expressing itself through the motor nerves. The mind habitually conceives more than its physical instruments can execute. The kindergarten seeks to co-ordinate the physical with the mental. To this end the hand and the eye are constantly trained together in the expression of thought. Much of the world's profoundest thought has been expressed through construction. With children, construction leads most easily and naturally to expression through language.

103. Growth of the Public-School System.

The growth of the public-school system has been marvellous, as a few data will show. According to the Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1896–97, making some allowances for revision, it is estimated that the number of persons from 5 to 18 years of age is 21,082,472, out of an estimated population of a little over 71,374,142. The number of different pupils enrolled on the public-school registers, exclusive of kindergartens, colleges, and universities, is 14,652,492, or somewhat over a fifth of the total population, and 69.50 per cent of the total number of persons from 5 to 18 years of age. The average daily attendance is 10,089,620, or more than two-thirds of the enrolment. The percentage of enrolment varies in different parts of the country, being for the North Atlantic division just 70 per cent, for the South Atlantic division nearly 63 per cent, and for the South Central division a little under 61 per cent; for the North Central division about 76½ per cent, and for the Western division nearly 77 per cent.

The percentage of the population enrolled in the public and other schools is higher in the United States than in any other country in the world. The percentage here is 23.3. Bavaria comes next; then in order, Canada, Baden, and Saxony, all with an enrolment of over 20 per cent of their population; the other countries having an enrolment of less than 20 per cent of their total population, the lowest being Roumania, with 2.5 per cent. Countries that we are more familiar with have high percentages of enrolment, notably the German Empire, England and Wales, and France, — all ranging between 15 and 18 per cent. Italy, Greece, Portugal, Bulgaria, Russia, Servia, and Turkey, — all come below 10 per cent. Spain is just above the 10 per cent mark. Most of the countries named have either free or mixed pay and free schools. Enrolment of course is not a test of attendance, and the proportion of children actually receiving instruction is undoubtedly larger in Germany, Switzerland, and France than in the United States.

In 1870 the average total amount of schooling, including all grades of both public and private schools, which each individual of the population would receive under the conditions actually existing at that time, was 3.32 years of 200 school days each, while in 1897 the average was 4.94 years. On the basis of 200 days to the school year, the increase since 1870 in the various divisions has been, for the North Atlantic, 304 days; the South Atlantic, 376 days; the South Central, 348 days; the North Central, 380 days; and in the Western, 450 days. Very naturally, the increase has been largest in the localities adopting the system the latest. No facts could be more expressive of the general adoption of the public-school system than this great increase in the average amount of schooling received by those attending the public schools.

One of the greatest advantages claimed for the public-school system is the sociological effect of massing children in common association. It is believed by the friends of this system that such massing develops individual character, be-

cause each child must compete with every other, while in private and church schools the tendency is to keep each child at the minimum development of his character; in a public school he has to take the rough-and-tumble of life. This is true, of course, of the child coming out of the private or church schools, but he is turned into this rough-and-tumble at a later age, and hence is weaker in many respects than his competitor trained in the public schools.

The public-school system has had a great Americanising influence on foreigners. The difficulty of assimilating so many different foreign elements and so many persons of foreign birth is lessened through the public school, for the children coming to this country, and those of foreign-born parents, must, in order to meet with any success, learn the principles of American institutions and the English language, and secure the training of the public schools; without these schools there would be in America groups or communities of persons of different nationalities, preserving their own language and racial characteristics. This would weaken republican institutions, and make the question of immigration far more difficult than at present. Notwithstanding the great influence of the public schools, however, such communities exist in small degree, but they gradually lose their importance. The great watchword of America is that all persons coming here must become Americans.

104. The Public School System below the High School.

That part of the public-school system which interests the greatest number of persons is to be found below the grade known as the high school, for probably 90 per cent of the children passing through our public schools leave them at the grammar grades, or the highest grade under the high school. Public interest is therefore largely centred in the perfection of the primary, intermediate, and grammar grades, in which many a child is taught all that he will ever receive in the way of education before entering upon his lifework. He is instructed

in the primary branches, — reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, and history; these constitute the general studies in the three great grades below the high school. It is here that our citizens are made, for in addition to the principal studies enumerated, there have been introduced in late years the fundamental principles of government, something of physiology and anatomy, and, through oral teaching, much that develops the individual pupil and fits him to comprehend his duties as a citizen.

The governments of the United States are not alone in fostering the very best work in these lower grades; most European countries comprehend the necessity of giving to every child an education, including at least all the work up to and through the grammar school. So when people refer to the public system, as a rule they comprehend in their estimate the schools up to and including the grammar schools. There are, however, superficial disadvantages connected with the modern system as well as advantages, and there is plenty of opposition to any particular extension of the common schools. The system is, nevertheless, now universal, and its influence cannot be abridged; its standard will be constantly raised as the necessity of general education becomes more apparent.

105. The American High School.

Free public schools of lower grades are now happily familiar in all countries of European civilisation; but there has been developed in the United States a system of free public high schools, unexampled in the world's history. The German gymnasia are schools supported partly by taxation, partly by high fees from the boys who attend; the American high schools are so far free that in many of them even text-books are furnished. The so-called English public schools are expensive and rather clannish boys' boarding schools; the American high schools are resorted to by boys and girls of all classes.

In most of our cities and large towns the high schools rise

to the intellectual standards of the ordinary college of fifty or sixty years ago and of many of the ordinary colleges as they exist in some parts of the country to-day. The only condition imposed is that these high schools shall be open only to children who successfully pass from the grades below; hence the pupils of the high schools are the selected children of each community, and they may secure an education embracing the languages, higher mathematics, the elements of the sciences, rhetoric, civil government, — all the branches, in fact, that used to be taught in the colleges. The graduate of the high school is supposed to be so well informed that he may easily enter any calling in life not of a professional nature. In the high schools of some States he may also fit for college.

It is just here that the extreme individualist finds fault with the public-school system. He insists that it goes too far; that it should stop with the grammar grades; that it is not the business of the public to give special instruction to particularly bright young men or to aid them in preparing for a career in life or for a college course; that all such matters should be left to private endeavour. Another objection which the individualist makes is that by this extension of educational privileges many young men and women are given aspirations which their native capacity does not allow them to satisfy, and thus many persons are wrecked who, had they not received the education of the high school, would have been content, or fairly so, to work in callings adapted to their capacity.

The objector carries the old saying that "a little learning is a dangerous thing" to the extreme. He does not recognise that many of the troubles, social and industrial, of the present time are due to a certain degree of intelligence, and that to avoid them more intelligence is required. He does not understand how important the high school has become as the feeder of the normal school, and as the foundation of a class in the country interested in education and in public affairs. As Macaulay put it, the evils of liberty can be cured only by more liberty.

Whatever the objections are, it is certain that this country will take no backward step relative to public education. The Federal government has made great grants for the assistance of schools and colleges; State governments are constantly aiding universities and scientific schools, and many of them set apart a fund for the benefit of the common schools. The cheerfulness with which the people themselves vote supplies for the establishment and maintenance of common and high schools indicates that they know the importance of their children having the highest advantages. As against the individualist who finds flaws in the public-school system there is the great mass of people and all their law-making bodies. All organisations of labour, whether conservative or socialistic in their tendencies, insist upon the extension rather than the restriction of the public-school system. The probability is that the judgment of our best educators will determine the standard of education proper for the public schools. While they agree very largely as to the value and the necessity of the high school as such, very many of them have concluded that the raising of the standard in the high schools of the smaller cities and towns has been perhaps too rapid; that money has been spent too freely in some localities for the purpose of fitting a few highly endowed young men and women for college or for professional life, at the expense of the many in the same schools who must on graduation earn their living in the skilled trades or in semi-professional work. The question is one that will be adjusted through the wisdom of the men charged with the administration of school affairs, and not through any statutory provisions.

106. The Normal School.

Closely allied to the high school and to all higher instruction are normal schools, institutions for the training of teachers; through their means teachers are more thoroughly equipped in pedagogic work, and there is a more thorough uniformity in methods as a result of normal-school training. The number of

students subjecting themselves to such training for the express purpose of equipping themselves for teachers in the various institutions of the country was, in 1896, nearly 90,000. These pupils are found in public normal schools as such, established for the particular purpose of training teachers; in private normal schools, universities, and colleges; in public high schools and in private high schools. There are 164 public and 198 private normal schools in the country, while 27 colleges and universities have regularly organised departments of pedagogy, and offer to teachers courses leading to degrees. Students in State normal schools, as a rule, are not required to be graduates of a high school, but very many of them have been trained in the sciences or arts in seminaries and colleges. The influence of the normal schools has been very great in raising the standard of the common schools, especially those below the high school.

107. Imperfections of the Public-School System.

The principal problems in this country relative to the public-school system lie in the methods of instruction and the extent to which public instruction shall be carried. There has been a constant extension of the field of instruction, shown either in an expansion of the curricula of the public schools, or in the removal therefrom of some of the studies that were formerly considered essential and the substitution of others, usually such as are considered more practical in their bearing. The fact already stated that nearly 90 per cent of all the children passing through our common schools drop out at some stage of the grammar-school grade has been a very potent argument on the part of those who insist that instruction shall be practical, so as to enable the coming boys and girls to acquire such information as will be helpful in their endeavours to be self-supporting. The result is sometimes an exaggeration of the bread-and-butter value of education.

Perhaps the most serious difficulty of the system under which the great body of children are given instruction is in

the tendency to reduce to uniformity the character of instruction. The public schools, where possible, are graded; the advantage of making up classes of about the same age and degree of advancement is obvious; but in order to be effective they must be run on the schedule plan, like the trains of a great railway system, — hours, lessons, and methods alike for scores of children; the same number of chapters to be accomplished before the pupil can be allowed to pass into a higher grade. This unification is really an attempt to adjust the quantity and quality of instruction in each grade to the average capacity. Those below that capacity are always behind-hand in their work, while the boy or girl of superior capacity must be held back. There is no way of fully overcoming this difficulty, though it can be obviated partially through an increase in the number of teachers, and a corresponding increase in school expenses, so that classes may be smaller. In some cities two grades are systematically taught in the same room, with a system of cross transfers. It is a very complicated problem, and at present many parents are convinced that they can educate their children more to their minds by sending them to private schools; but in such cases the children lose the benefit of the contests incident to the public-school system and the strengthening experience of association with a variety of fellows. On the whole, it is probable that the public-school system accomplishes to a marked degree the purpose for which it is established, the difficulties and objections being minor, while the advantages and benefits are great.

Many educators are of the opinion — and experience seems to demonstrate the soundness of the opinion — that the best grade of teachers should be employed in the primary schools at the very beginning of the child's education. The establishment of normal schools throughout the country has done much toward providing well-trained teachers; but there are two stumbling-blocks in the way of their employment. In some places appointments of teachers go by political favour, so that an instructor may be brought in whom no one would think of

employing as a nurse-maid; and in many parts of the country none but residents can get schools. It is a pleasure to believe, however, that in the main the great corps of teachers in the United States, from the lowest to the highest grade, are men and women thoroughly dedicated to their chosen service, and that they are endeavouring to adjust the difficulties which grow constantly under a rapidly extended curriculum.

Among the objects of educational reform to-day is the devising of more individual methods of teaching, the good side of the famous "district school." This end may be gained by methods of quick promotion for bright children, and by substituting oral methods in place of routine written exercises, and thus to bring the child into more personal relations with the teacher; another is to encourage individual written work of various kinds.

A second improvement may be found in the abandonment of some of the old-fashioned methods of teaching arithmetic and grammar, so as to leave room for the introduction of studies which a few years ago were not supposed to belong to the school curricula. Science, especially in practical observational forms; rational geography; history; the elements of art, — such are some of the enlivening new studies. Still further eliminations will take place, giving room for the substitution of branches of study which the child more and more requires in his daily life. Every effort is made through the action of governments to make the public-school system ever more attractive, and thus enlist the attention and interest of the pupil and the parent.

108. Compulsory Education.

In most European countries the State has for one of its functions the duty of assuring that every child shall have some kind of formal education. In France every private school or tutor must have an official sanction. The same principle underlies what in many of the States are called compulsory education laws, by which children of school age must attend the common

schools a certain number of weeks in the year. Attendance upon a private or parochial school, as a rule, exempts a child from the provisions of the law as to truancy or compulsory attendance upon public school. Such laws can be enforced only through the provisions relating to truancy, but their execution is very unequal in the different parts of the country where they exist. The critical question is, What shall be done with children whose offence is simply that they will not go to school? Some States have truant schools, where children who are habitual truants are sent and compelled to remain a certain length of time; others send such children to reformatories, a penalty in the nature of a sentence.

The principle of compulsory education is that, in order to maintain democratic institutions successfully all persons must have an education comprehending at least the rudiments of learning. In the few cases of resulting hardship, as, for instance, where a family is very poor, or the head of it has died and his support and income are gone, the wages of a child of proper age to work may be absolutely essential to the mother or some relative, in order to avoid a condition of pauperism, or at least a condition of poverty which necessitates more or less public aid, under special exemption by law or custom. The morality of a system which leads to such results has often been questioned. Happily for the general principles underlying public education, such extreme instances are very rare; they have not been frequent enough to result in any change of policy.

Sometimes, especially in large cities in States where compulsory laws exist, the difficulty of carrying them out lies in the fact that the public has not provided sufficient accommodation for the schooling of all the children of proper age. Of course, under such conditions the laws cannot be enforced, and are thus pronounced to be absurd. In 1894, about 50,000 school-children in New York City could not be received because there was no room for them.

109. Industrial Education.

As a balance-wheel for the extreme tendencies in every direction of the public-school system there have been advocated methods known under the broad term "industrial education," [1] and covering several classes of schools or sequences of instruction, ranging from the kindergarten to institutes of technology. It is well to define some of the terms which must frequently recur in any discussion of industrial education.

Manual training signifies instruction in tool work as an educational discipline. This definition distinguishes and differentiates it from trade-school teaching, the sole or primary aim of which is to give the apprentice a thorough and practical knowledge of some particular handicraft. The apprentice may incidentally acquire much general knowledge while connected with the trade school; but education is not the main end sought in such schools, whereas under manual training it is the paramount object. In the trade school the course is of short duration, and is limited to a severe drill in the theory and practice of a trade, — such as bricklaying, stone masonry, carpentry, painting, etc. In the manual-training school the course usually lasts three years, and comprises high-school studies, with manual practice in wood and iron work as a co-ordinate branch of education.

The technical school is a high-grade trade school, or a school in which, while a craft is taught, the scientific principles upon which it is grounded are also fully explained and demonstrated in their applications to art and industry. Weaving schools would come under this classification.

Institutes of technology are of university rank, and their courses of study lead to a professional degree, generally to that of civil, mining, or electrical engineer.

Educational organisation in Europe differs widely from that of the United States. In several Continental States a manual-training system, and even trade and technical schools, are

[1] U. S. Commissioner of Labour, *Eighth Annual Report.*

established by law, and the schools themselves are aided by direct subventions from the government. In the United States, on the contrary, whenever public manual-training schools are founded, the work is usually done by local boards, by municipal authority, or by private enterprise, and the undertaking as yet assumes the character of an experiment. Hence we have no uniform system of manual training in this country, but only a number of independent, heterogeneous ventures, some of which, however, have already demonstrated their right to exist. There are, nevertheless, several incorporated manual-training schools in the United States, such as those of Chicago, St. Louis, Toledo, and Philadelphia, which surpass anything of the kind to be found abroad. In these something more is taught than the use of mere hand tools. Machine tools for wood and metal work abound, and colossal mechanical appliances for testing the strength of materials place the American equipments far above those of the foreign schools of this class, nor has the Old World a single institute of technology that surpasses in comparison the best of our own.

In respect to technical and trade schools, however, the conditions are, with a few exceptions, exactly reversed. The thoroughness of the European system of trade and technical teaching is proverbial; and the specialisation of their training comprehends the minutest details. The dyer who learns his art in the Crefeld laboratories is versed in all the subtle chemistry of colours, and from his knowledge of the composition of fabrics understands how to compute to the fraction of a pfennig the cost of dyeing a given number of yards of any colour.

A like thoroughness characterises the instruction given in the horological schools in the great centres of the watch-making industry. It is a distinguishing feature also of the professional schools of tailoring, dressmaking, and artificial flower-making in France, Belgium, and Switzerland; of the Austrian wood-carving and cabinet-making schools; of the German schools for locksmiths and horseshoers, and even of the fishing schools of the Scandinavian peninsula.

A few American trade and technical schools, especially in New York, Brooklyn, and Philadelphia, take rank with their European prototypes; but most of our schools of this class are far inferior in respect to the fulness and completeness of their teaching to the foreign models. In our half-developed State colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts there is to be found the foundation for a better system of technical instruction than exists anywhere to-day, and in the establishment of some of the institutes in the cities one may discern the promise of future American primacy in the industrial arts.

The status of industrial education in the United States is somewhat peculiar. It is one outcome, as already intimated, of the feeling of dissatisfaction with the older methods of education and the effort to make public education more practical. The same feeling has manifested itself in the reform of the college course by reducing the amount of classical study required, by the introduction of elective courses, the adoption of the seminary method, and the extension of the laboratory method in scientific study. As far as industrial education is concerned, this movement made its beginning and has reached its highest development in schools of a scientific or technological character. From these schools the movement has extended through the agricultural colleges until it has reached and is now transforming the methods of instruction in the public schools. Some of the larger public schools have carried the experiment to success, and have been eagerly followed in the work by the more ambitious of the smaller ones. Several States have indorsed the movement by appropriations, and others by legislation permitting its adoption in public schools.

110. Manual-training Schools.

Manual training in the public schools will be found to have been more often the subject of experiment in the northeastern States perhaps than anywhere else. Massachusetts, New Jersey, and New York seem to have led in the number of experiments, though it certainly cannot be said that any single one

of these experiments, or the results attained by any one, overshadows in importance those that have been made in Baltimore, Chicago, Omaha, Philadelphia, or Toledo. But in these States the movement seems to have made more progress in the smaller cities and towns. In New Jersey the State gives official encouragement by duplicating any sum between $500 and $5,000 which may be subscribed or appropriated, and has thus tempted some of the smaller places to give the work a trial where it probably would not have been thought of otherwise. In several other States there has been State action in the line of permissive legislation, either authorising taxation or allowing school boards to take measures to incorporate manual training with the branches already taught in the public schools. So that whatever may have been done in these States is the result of local legislation, and may be assumed to represent local sentiment. It may probably be said, too, that if the manual-training instruction has been retained in most of these places, it has been from a feeling of satisfaction with the results of the trial.

In the South, notwithstanding different conditions, the movement has made a good deal of progress. The industrial element has been incorporated in very many of the schools established for the benefit of the coloured race. These schools are not generally of a public character, though in many cases the State has freely voted funds for their support. The expenses of attendance are small, however, and frequently tuition can be obtained free of charge. The schools usually offer instruction for all grades, from the preparatory to the theological student. The normal and agricultural courses will be found prominent features. The John F. Slater fund divides its income of about $45,000 among forty-four different schools for the coloured race, and thus does much to advance the cause of industrial training. Whatever the result of this training upon the graduates, it offers to the students, under the plans adopted in many schools, the opportunity of paying in great part the expenses of their education in work. Generally it is

not possible to point to the positive effects of industrial training upon the occupations of the graduates. The demand for teachers and ministers of the coloured race all over the South seems to take up nearly all the better and more proficient of the graduates.

In the adaptation and application of manual-training principles to the needs of different schools it often happens that the methods and extent of the work are greatly modified by varying local conditions. The lower public schools, for example, in whose curricula the new discipline is tentatively incorporated, cannot as a rule carry it much beyond the elementary exercises of drawing, modelling in clay, and the simple manipulation of carpentry, with plain sewing and cooking. The expense of equipment and the cost of maintenance (to say nothing of its inexpediency from an educational point of view) forbid the further extension of the experiment, at least outside of the larger cities.

In the great incorporated manual-training schools, like those at Chicago, St. Louis, and Cambridge, on the other hand, a more thorough course is pursued, including carpentry, wood-turning, pattern-making, cabinet work, foundry work, forging, machine-shop work, etc. The methods of teaching adopted in these institutions are analogous to those in vogue in institutions of technology and other professional schools where the student acquires a knowledge of science not from text-books merely, but from a severe course of practice and experimentation in the laboratory.

A glance at some of the ways in which manual training has been supported in the public schools may prove interesting and instructive. In Jamestown, N. Y., where a beginning was made as early as 1874, the funds were for a long time raised by subscription and by exhibitions given by the students. Even now, though the city makes an appropriation, much of the money is raised in this way. In Hoboken, N. J., public spirit has been at the back of the movement. An organisation of the citizens — the Hoboken Industrial Association —

started the movement, and, while both the State and city have joined in the support, has continued in the management. The State of New Jersey, as already noted, has for several years generously shared with any town or city complying with certain conditions in the support of manual training. At Toledo the manual-training school was a gift to the city. At Baltimore the city has from the first borne all the expense.

The ways in which the public schools offering manual training distribute their benefits are various. For not in all the schools does every pupil receive the benefits of the training. On the contrary, the custom would seem to be more frequently the other way. In Baltimore, for example, the manual-training course is a distinct high-school course which the pupil must choose as he would choose the English or the classical course. This plan has come to be a favourite one in the organisation of manual-training high schools in the larger cities. In Omaha, on the other hand, the manual training is an exercise which may be taken by high-school pupils in addition to the regular studies. Going to Jamestown again, we find the training offered to certain selected students below the high school only; while at Montclair, N. J., the manual training work is introduced in some way to all the grades, from the lowest up to — not into — the high school. Washington goes a step farther than Montclair, and offers manual training as an elective to high-school students. The plans in operation in Washington schools provide for what is probably the most complete of the systems of manual training in the public schools.

Much has been said by the friends of manual and trade training relative to the proportionate time which can be advantageously expended in such training in conjunction with academic work. The ardent friends of industrial education, using the term broadly, insist upon it that, with a reasonable time devoted to manual training or trade instruction, there is not only no loss in book work, but a positive gain, both in amount and in comprehension of what is studied; that a

student workman has his mental faculties sharpened by his hand work, and that he comprehends all the more quickly the principles of mathematics, for instance, through his training in physical and mechanical directions. Though these views are matters of opinion, there is some positive information which leads to very clear conclusions. Dr. Henry H. Belfield of Chicago, in making a report to the United States Department of Labour in 1892, gave the experience of English and American educators, and collected valuable testimony regarding the comparative quantity and quality of academic work done by those who did and those who did not take the hand work. He finds that pupils taking manual training as a part of their school work in the regular school hours accomplish as much academic work as pupils who devote the same number of hours to school work without the manual training; and it was generally remarked that the larger the amount of time given to manual training, the more marked the beneficial results. Some educators were unable to say more than that they perceived no reduction in the quantity or quality of academic work done; yet the large majority reported more and better academic work when hand work was added. The testimony of the leading training schools in this country is universally in favour of the opinion that manual training aids in the accomplishment of academic work, and that the combination of mental and manual work does not diminish the amount of purely academic work, provided the manual work is held properly in abeyance. The facts justify the conclusion that from one to two hours per day, according to the age of the pupils and the character of the work, can be profitably applied to the manual side of education. All inquiries on this matter result in the positive corroboration of the conclusions reached by Doctor Belfield.

111. Trade and Technical Schools.

Totally different from the manual-training schools in aims and methods are the institutions of a trade and technical character. Where the manual-training school, as has been

seen, aims at the single educational purpose of directing, by courses of mental and manual exercises, the development of all the powers of the individual, the trade and technical schools aim at such special development as will give a mastery of some particular craft. Unlike many of the manual-training schools, none of those for trade and technical training are parts of the public-school system; even the aid of a State appropriation has been enjoyed only by the School of Industrial Art at Philadelphia. Trade schools are not so numerous, nor their methods so various, that even the brief analysis relative to manual training is necessary to make clear the differences in their aims or in the work for which they are organised.

The first real trade schools of the modern time were established in New York City in 1881, when the projector proceeded to put into practical form his purpose of giving young men instruction in certain trades, and to enable young men already in trades to improve themselves. Courses of instruction were given at very moderate charge in bricklaying, plastering, plumbing, carpentry, house, sign, and fresco painting, stonecutting, blacksmithing, tailoring, and printing. The thoroughness of the instruction given in each of these trades, it is claimed, leaves nothing to be desired. For example, in the bricklaying class the manual instruction will be in building eight, twelve, and sixteen inch walls; in turning corners and building walls intersecting at different angles; in building piers, arches, flues, fireplaces; in setting sills and lintels, etc. The scientific instruction is upon the strength of walls, construction of flues, thrust of arches, mixing and properties of mortar, cement, etc. This instruction is given by means of lectures illustrated by experiments and by carefully prepared manuals.

In the bricklaying classes the young men are taught first how to handle the trowel and how to spread mortar. After this they are practised on eight and twelve-inch walls. When these can be carried up plumb and the courses laid level, the class is put upon walls returned at right angles, piers, arches,

fireplaces, and flues. The brick work is carried up as high as the students can conveniently work, when it is torn down, and the bricks cleaned to be used again. Before an exercise is commenced the instructors show how the work is to be done. The young men are then required to practice under the constant supervision of the instructors until they can do their work well.

There are many technical schools that may be called high-grade trade schools, although they are here and there departments of institutes. They take up branches of work allied to those conducted in the institutes of technology, although they do not have the university characteristics of such institutes. The studies of the technical schools, as distinguished from trade schools, include instruction in watch and clock making, mechanical, electrical, and civil engineering, mining and metallurgy, domestic arts, etc. Academic work is carried along, and the very best results of educational systems are secured.

The necessity of this kind of education, that to be derived from the technical schools, is great indeed, especially in a country like our own, where our industries are coming into competition with those of every other advanced nation. With technical and art training our manufactories can compete with those of another country. Already the American industries are reaping the benefit of the establishment of technical schools, and every effort that can be made by municipal and State governments toward their perfection and the expansion of their usefulness will meet with ample reward in the increased standard of our manufactures. It is one of the hopeful signs of the times that schools of design, art, and drawing, mechanics' institutes, schools of industrial art and technical design for women, textile schools, — everything of the kind, — are being established all over the country.

A branch of industrial education that has long been neglected comprehends what Prof. W. O. Atwater, of Wesleyan University, calls home science, — that is, everything that relates to the household. Cooking schools are being established every-

where in this and in other countries. In some of our larger cities cooking, sewing, and other things relating to the household are taught in the public schools, and with the very best results. But home science involves something more than the teaching of cookery or sewing; it involves instruction in every department of home life, that the housekeeper may know for a certainty the character of foods, how to cook them, those from which the greatest amount of nutrition can be secured, the combination of foods, — everything, in fact, which will help to economise in the preparation of food and at the same time make it attractive and nutritious. Taste in furnishing the table is one of the branches taught by home science. All these matters are taught for the purpose of securing a higher standard of living and improved sanitary and hygienic conditions. Their bearing on the temperance question is of the highest importance, for it is beginning to be understood that to cure men of drink habits, tastes must be changed. The Federal government is doing something to aid this movement of instruction in home science through investigations as to the properties of food and the quantities of each class of food necessary to secure certain results.

Intermediate in grade, between the manual-training school and the technological institute, are the agricultural colleges of the United States. The courses of study pursued in many of these institutions offer opportunities for the student in art and mechanics, some of them being very excellent training schools for trades and for fitting engineers, as well as for the development of agriculture and the mechanic arts. Much can still be done by the agricultural colleges in the direction of technical education. The United States Department of Agriculture publishes complete lists of the schools and colleges devoted in any way to agricultural science. Most of these colleges have been established as a result of grants from the Congress.

The highest technical institutions in which students can secure special education are known as institutes of technology. The studies of the course in these institutes are de-

signed to secure to all the graduates a professional preparation at once thorough and practical, and the course usually occupies four years. The object is to train men as engineers in all grades, and in chemistry, mathematics, etc. Many of these institutes take rank with the very best of the colleges, and the courses are quite as broad and varied. The standard of these schools is constantly being raised, and it becomes more and more difficult for a student to enter them. Manual training and trade instruction constitute work auxiliary to the professional courses.

112. Results of Technical Education.

The beneficent use of manual training and trade instruction in reformatories will be treated under the chapter relating to the defence of society (§§ 201, 202); but the effect of such training and instruction upon the individual may properly be referred to at this point, and on this feature there is abundant information to be found in the Eighth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labour. It appears that a large majority of the graduates of trade schools in various countries were ready to begin work immediately on leaving school, without serving any time as apprentices; and in almost all cases the employers prefer trade-school graduates to those who have not had trade-school training. These students are found to be superior to the ordinary workman in the use of tools at the beginning of their employment, as well as in the economic use of materials. In planning and arranging work like superiority has always been shown by trade-school graduates, and as to the matter of compensation such student workmen have the advantage. This is also true when the moral side of the question is considered; for they give promise of more intelligent work, they possess higher moral qualities, are better equipped for the management of men, and almost invariably work more assiduously to secure the employer's welfare, and hence their own.

The results of training in sewing and cooking show con-

clusively that those given such training have an increased respect for manual labour, more independence of character, possess more accuracy of thought, know better how to use materials, are better equipped for planning and arranging work, and have a much better promise of future usefulness. They certainly possess more ability to earn a livelihood, and are more capable of efficient work. This is the testimony not only of teachers but of parents.

It is not necessary to refer to the great advantages which the graduates of institutes of technology have over all others. Their services are constantly sought; and a man having in his possession a diploma from one of such institutions, or a certificate of proficiency in any one branch of knowledge, is very sure to command a situation which brings him not only responsibility and the opportunity of practically applying his knowledge, but also a high salary.

The attitude of working-men towards manual training, trade, and technical schools individually is friendly, but more friendly to manual training and technical schools than to trade schools; for organised labour has for one of its principal tenets the regulation and restriction of the number of persons who shall enter particular trades. Under the apprenticeship system the master regulated the number of apprentices to a large extent; but since that system has become practically obsolete, the trade unions everywhere have insisted upon determining the number of apprentices in specific trades; they are not therefore particularly friendly to trade schools as such. Organised labour — trade unions and other bodies — has made no authoritative declaration on this subject; labouring men, however, are enthusiastic supporters of educational systems, and believe in common and public instruction and an extension thereof. They want children to have the very best general education which governments can secure for them; they know better than any one else the advantage or prestige which is given to a child who has been well trained in the public schools.

113. Colleges and Universities.

Colleges and universities are institutions which complete the arch in education; historically they were established before the common or public schools; but their place in the system of general education is last, of course. The college is an institution of learning for the orderly and systematic training in all those essential elements which belong to liberal and professional culture; the nature of its work is therefore academic, and does not comprehend the fitting of persons for special professions or callings. After young persons have been graduated from a college they must seek their field of life-work, and either take a supplemental fitting in a special school, or content themselves with the academic training already secured. As a rule, a college is a single institution, although there may be connected with it medical, law, theological, or scientific schools.

The university, as it is understood in this country, is an advanced college for the instruction of those who have had the advantage of college training, and takes up more original research as a part of its curriculum. The ideal university is an institution for post-graduate work; it is not simply a group of colleges; but in one sense it may be a group of colleges or departments, in which the highest forms or methods of instruction prevail for the equipment of teachers and professors. It is primarily an institution for the promotion of higher education by means of instruction in the class-room and the encouragement of literary and scientific investigation. The designation of the university has different meanings in different countries; but its purpose is practically the same everywhere. University students must be so mature and so well trained as to exact from their teachers the most advanced instruction. Universities aim at the accumulation of comprehensive libraries, expensive apparatus, and they bring into association all those stimulating influences of great and learned professors who care more for science than for popularity, and who are devoted to the discovery and revelation of truth.

Formerly — that is, prior to this century — colleges and universities were more or less popular with the masses; then there came a feeling that they were the exclusive possessors, or felt themselves to be such, of learning and knowledge, and they lost, by some practices peculiar to them in the past, that great public sympathy which is absolutely essential for their preservation and extended usefulness. Of late years, however, this cord of sympathy has been strengthened through the liberal methods of the managers of great institutions of learning in admitting in some degree the public as beneficiaries or recipients of their instruction. The plan of university extension has done much towards warming the public heart in favour of the higher institutions of learning; and another method is free admission to those departments of college and university work which can be opened to the public. Lectures on social economics and on other subjects are in many institutions open to all persons who care to attend. Of course the highest estimate of the value of college and university work exists among those whose friends have been recipients of their benefits; and, again, wealthy men who have missed the enlightening influences of college life have felt it a public duty either to endow professorships, or to erect buildings, or to establish a university entire. The vast sums of money that have been given to these institutions during the last twenty-five years or more lead to the conclusion that learning will be fostered both by private and by public benefactions.

In many parts of the Union some of the universities are State institutions, appropriations being made for their establishment and maintenance, which enable them to carry on their work in the highest degree with nominal tuition fees. These State universities offer advantages to young men and women who are not so circumstanced as to enable them to pay all the expenses of a private university or one not endowed by government.

In this country women are now admitted as freely to many of the colleges and universities as are men, and this principle

of co-education is extending. Women are receiving degrees through special training, thus bringing to themselves and to their calling in life the highest benefits to be received by any one.

The number of colleges and universities, and for both sexes, so far as reports received by the United States Bureau of Education are concerned, is 484, 79 of which are located in the North Atlantic division, 70 in the South Atlantic, 87 in the South Central, 201 in the North Central, and 47 in the Western division. These institutions employ over 12,000 professors and instructors, 10,600 being men, and nearly 1,600 women. The total number of students in attendance was nearly 160,000. The value of the property owned by the universities and colleges is very nearly a quarter of a billion dollars, the total money value of all gifts and bequests during a single year being something over eight millions of dollars. The whole number of universities and colleges admitting women to undergraduate courses of study is 345, and there are 162 colleges for women, with over 2,500 instructors, and nearly 25,000 students; their material equipment is valued at nearly sixteen millions of dollars.

CHAPTER XII.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

114. References.

U. S. Commissioner of Labour, *Report on Working Women in Large Cities*, in *Fourth Annual Report* (1888), and *Report on Work and Wages of Men, Women, and Children*, in *Eleventh Annual Report* (1895); Carroll D. Wright, *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, chs. xvi., xvii.; William C. Hunt, *Workers at Gainful Occupations*, in U. S. Department of Labour, *Bulletin* No. 11 (especially on employment of children, § 118); M. C. de Graffenried and William F. Willoughby, *Essays on Child Labour*, in American Economic Association, *Publications*, V. No. 2; L. G. Powers, *Some Unanswered Questions concerning Child Labour* (paper read before International Association of Factory Inspectors, September, 1897); Carroll D. Wright, *The Factory System*, in United States Tenth Census, *Report on Manufactures*, II.; Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labour, *Twentieth Annual Report*, Part VII. (1889); reports of various State bureaus of statistics of labour; Charlotte Perkins Stetson, *Women and Economics*; Clara E. Collet, *The Collection and Utilization of Official Statistics bearing on the Extent and Effects of the Industrial Employment of Women*, in Royal Statistical Society, *Journal*, LXI. part ii. 219 (June, 1898); Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, I. part iii. §§ x., xi.; Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Problems of Modern Industry*, chs. iii., iv.; the *Chautauquan*, October, 1897 (especially on wages, § 119); the *Forum*, July, 1893 (on wages, § 120), and May, 1892 (on character of working women, § 121).

115. Influence of Factories on Employment of Women and Children.

Ever since the factory, or associated system of labour, which enabled women and children to enter the ranks of general industry, superseded the hand or domestic system, there has been fear that their employment would in time cause the disintegration of the family and deterioration of the home. The factory system has now been in practical operation more than

one hundred years.[1] It had its beginning when cotton spinning and weaving by power succeeded the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom. Under the previous domestic system women had been widely employed, but as an individual matter, and in the homes of the weavers and spinners; hence they attracted little attention from philanthropists and legislators. But with the textile factory there came the congregation of labour, and all the conditions under which the workers were employed became matters of public attention.

The present century has seen many hot contests in the British Parliament over efforts to regulate the hours of labour of women and children and to secure for them better sanitary conditions, protection from injuries through machinery, and other improvements in the conditions of their employment. Frequent Parliamentary investigations under the direction of the House of Commons have pictured the hardships which accompanied the employment of women and children; while similar investigations directed by the House of Lords have usually set forth the other side, and evidence has been brought out to show that the conditions were not as bad as the agitators would have the public believe. Wherever the factory has been established, this conflict has been carried on, but nowhere with such bitterness as in England, where it was alleged that the employment of women and children was a direct menace to the home and the family.

In all this discussion little attention was paid to the wretched condition of this class of workers under the old domestic system, where work and living were conducted under the same roof or in the same room, out of ordinary observation. Under the factory system in its first stages their condition was little better. The hours were long, the strain great, and the factories unhealthy; the application of law in removing unhealthy and dangerous conditions, or at least in modifying them, was therefore beneficent; but even when unregulated the factory was morally a vast improvement over the home places of work.

[1] C. D. Wright, *The Factory System*, in United States Tenth Census, II.

Finally the principle became fixed in English legislation that the government had the power to protect society and the family from whatever evils existed, and that future generations should not be injured through the conditions under which women were asked to work.

In the Continental countries, as the factory became a fixed institution, writers borrowed the English complaints, and applied them to their own conditions. Le Play, in his "Organisation of Labour," saw in the employment of women a loss of respect, and consequently a menace to virtue and family life.

The establishment of the textile factory in America in the first quarter of the present century did not lead to the general complaints that were made in England, chiefly because the proprietors of our factories profited by the experience of English proprietors, and built better factories, employed a higher class of labour, and paid much better wages. Notwithstanding this, there was much to be remedied in the American system, especially in the long hours of labour, — from thirteen to fourteen per day, — and efforts were made to reduce them.

The employment of women and children, then, becomes a matter closely connected with the questions of the family, and the extent to which such employment has been carried and the conditions surrounding it are matters belonging to practical sociology. Women and children have always been employed, but now in such increasing proportion as to cause a new fear that they are displacing men and encroaching upon the ability of the head of the family to support it.

116. The Influence of Law.

The general occupations of women and children may be ascertained by reference to the tables on occupations contained in the reports of the Eleventh Census to which more critical attention will be called when discussing other questions relating to the labour system. At present we will confine our attention to the numbers, conditions, and wages of working women and children. Wherever the textile factory

exists, or other manufactures needing light labour, legislators have considered women and children the wards of the State, for whose benefit special legislation was justifiable. Accordingly, laws have fixed the maximum hours of labour at which women and children may be employed per day or per week. Another frequent object of legislation is the age under which children or young persons cannot be employed; the underlying idea is that children should be withdrawn from the stunting and dwarfing influences of confinement in workshops, and that they should attend school and become fitted for future usefulness. The age limit varies in different States; but as a rule the laws provide that no child shall be employed under ten years of age, and that those from ten to fifteen must have a certain number of weeks of schooling every year.

The statistics of the occupations of the people of the United States, as gathered at the censuses, exclude all persons under ten years of age; we have statistics of the number of females employed over that age, and the classification of their occupations. In 1870 the total number of persons (proprietors, salaried people, and wage-workers) engaged in some gainful occupation was 12,505,923; of these the females were 1,836,288, or over one-tenth of the total female population, and one-seventh of the total number of females ten years of age and over. In 1890 the similar figures were: all persons, 22,735,661; females, 3,914,571, or one-eighth of the total female population, and one-sixth of the females ten years of age and over.

The distinction of sex in occupations was not made in the censuses prior to 1870. In that year the number of females ten years of age and over employed in agriculture, fisheries, and mining was 397,049, or 2.84 per cent of the total number of females of the age given; in 1890 there had been little relative change, the number being 679,523, or 2.95 per cent. In professional service, however, the proportion of females doubled from 92,257 in 1870, or .66 of 1 per cent, to 311,687 in 1890, or 1.35 per cent. In domestic and personal service the number of females was, in 1870, 973,157, or 6.97 per cent,

and 1,667,698, or 7.23 per cent, in 1890. The number engaged in trade and transportation was insignificant at both the dates; but in manufacturing and mechanical industries the increase is more marked, the number being for the first year 353,997, or 2.53 per cent, and in 1890 1,027,242, or 4.45 per cent.

117. Occupations of Women.

The increase in the proportion of females to the whole number of persons engaged in some of the other principal subdivisions of occupations is more startling. Women artists and teachers of art increased from 10.10 per cent of the total in 1870 to 48.08 per cent in 1890. There has also been a very great increase in music-teachers; and in book-keepers, clerks, and saleswomen, the rise being from 3.47 per cent in 1870 to 16.93 per cent in 1890; in telegraph and telephone operators from 4.27 per cent to 16.23 per cent in 1890.

Percentages of small quantities are less clear than special statements. The census of 1870 recorded but one architect among the women of this country, while 22 were found in 1890. The increase of numbers of artists and teachers of art was from 412 in 1870 to 10,815 in 1890. There were no women among the chemists, assayers, and metallurgists in 1870; while the enumerators in 1890 found 39. There were 67 preachers in 1870, and 1,143 in 1890. Dentistry has also attracted women, and while there were but 24 in this occupation in 1870, there were 337 in 1890. Women are also entering the field occupied by designers and draughtsmen, there being 305 in these occupations in 1890 against 13 in 1870. In 1890 there were 124 women engaged as engineers and surveyors, while there were none so employed in 1870. In the journalistic field the number rose in the twenty years from 35 to 888, and the number of lawyers increased from 5 to 208. Musicians and teachers of music numbered among the women 5,753 in 1870, while in 1890 there were 34,519. The female government officials, including national, State, county, city, and town governments, rose from 414 in the

former to 4,875 in the latter period; while among physicians and surgeons there was a like increase of women, it being from 527 in 1870 to 4,557 in 1890.

The occupation of teacher has been among the most attractive, for in 1870 the women numbered 84,047, and in 1890 246,066, the latter number including professors in colleges and universities. The latest report of the Commissioner of Education states that of the whole number of public-school teachers in the United States 67.4 per cent, and in some of the New England States more than 91 per cent, are women.

Women have made very great inroads among book-keepers and accountants, including clerks and copyists; for in 1870 the number engaged in these lines was 8,016, while in 1890 it was 91,991. Typewriters were not known in 1870, at least not to a sufficient extent to be considered in the census of that year, although seven short-hand writers were returned; but of the stenographers and typewriters in 1890, 21,270 were women. The number of saleswomen so enumerated in 1870 was 2,775, to which should be added several thousand clerks in stores; it was 58,451 in 1890.

The object in stating these detailed figures is to present the evidence that women are gaining in their occupations, and, further, that the proportion of females in all occupations followed is gradually increasing, so that women are to some extent entering into places at the expense of the males. A closer study of all the facts, however, shows that women are more generally taking the places of children; for, as will be shown, the number of children in manufactures is constantly decreasing, and in many classes they have been altogether excluded, and adult women have to some extent come in. There need not be any alarm, therefore, as to the encroachments of women upon the occupations held by men.

During the last fifty years there have been many occupations opened to men that were not known before. This has been the result of the development of transportation and the application of inventions to industry. Railroad construction and

operation opened an exceedingly wide field that has been occupied almost exclusively by men; while all the inventions for the utilisation of electricity have opened still greater opportunities, in which women have not met with much opportunity, the men holding the field. So, as men have stepped out of their old employments invention has opened paths for new occupations. It can hardly be correct, therefore, to say that women are really hurting the chances of men in business; for, on the whole, the encroachment is slight, as has been shown. In special places of employment, like those of book-keepers, stenographers, clerks in business houses, etc., there is undoubtedly an encroachment that has injured the opportunities of men to support themselves and their families. Whether the men who have been crowded out have been able to secure equally good positions in other directions is a question that cannot be determined easily by the statistical method.

118. Number of Children employed.

Turning now to the statistics relating to the number of children employed during the different years,[1] it is found that since 1880 there has been a considerable diminution in the number and proportion of children at work, — the result of a combination of causes, among which may be named the common-school system, the growth of public sentiment against the

[1] Census Years and Classification of Ages.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1870.			
Total children 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive	2,840,200	2,764,169	5,604,369
Number of above at work	548,064	191,100	739,164
Per cent of above at work	19.30	6 91	13.19
1880.			
Total children 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive	3,376,114	3,273,369	6,649,483
Number of above at work	825,187	293,169	1,118,356
Per cent of above at work	24.44	8.96	16.82
1890.			
Total children 10 to 14 years of age, inclusive	3,574,787	3,458,722	7,033,509
Number of above at work	400,586	202,427	603,013
Per cent of above at work	11.21	5.85	8.57

employment of young children in any capacity, the desire of parents to give their children a better chance than they had themselves, and the action of law. A fairly close approximation to the real facts can be secured from the statistics on page 214, according to which it is seen that one-seventh of the children from ten to fifteen years of age were at work in 1870, and one-sixth in 1880; and (allowing for the different age classification) in 1890 not more than one-tenth. The boys at work dropped from one-fifth of the whole in 1870 to not more than one-eighth in 1890. In 1870 the percentage of children of the total number of persons employed in manufacturing was 5.58, while in 1890 it was only 2.68.

Not only is the decrease in the number of children observable in proportions, but in the actual number as well; for in 1870 there were 739,164, and in 1890 only 603,013. The number in 1880, however, was 1,118,356. The influence of law and custom is now so strong that it is not likely that we shall see a larger proportion at regular work than is now the case.

That children should be busy no one will deny, and many thousands of boys and girls have home tasks, and are doing the world service. The "child labour" problem is, however, simply that of keeping down the number of those who shall enter upon the toil in which their lives are to be spent before they have a common-school education, and before their muscles are set and their frames knit up.

119. Wages of Women and Children.

Average earnings are very difficult to ascertain; the problem is complicated by "store pay," by shut-downs, by short time, by fines. In the census of 1890 the average annual earnings of men in mechanical and manufacturing industries are stated at $498; the earnings of children are given by same authority as $141, and of women $276 per annum.

How far women receive the lower scale of wages for precisely the same work cannot be accurately determined. Men

clerks in manufacturing establishments average $890, against $462 for women clerks; but in the factories women often have work requiring less muscular effort; at any rate, women in general have a low scale of wages.

According to the Massachusetts census of 1895, of the whole number of females employed in manufactures in that State for whom classified weekly wages were reported, a little over one-fourth received less than $5 per week; less than one-fifth, $5, but under $6 per week; nearly one-half, $6, but under $10 per week; while only about one-fourteenth received over $10 per week.

A study of the reasons why women receive such small compensation would lead one far back into the history of the race. She has been under social, political, and intellectual subjection for centuries, and only recently has she been winning justice and recognition. She has achieved her right to an education and to the development of her intellectual powers; but industrially she has not acquired a prominent economic position. From being the property of man, when she was a drudge merely, she has become a social factor, and, with the use of machinery, in some degree an economic factor. We need not discuss her entrance into the field of literature, of art, and of professional work; in these she makes her way, and receives fair remuneration. She has been crowding man to some extent, as already stated, but only as he has stepped up into higher occupations, — those which have come in as new callings in life, and in which men have received comparatively higher compensations than women in the old occupations men previously occupied. Women have occupied the positions of book-keepers, telegraphers, and many of the semi-professional callings, and as they have occupied them men have entered higher callings, — engineering of various classes, and other spheres of life that were not known when women first entered the industrial field. So, as women have progressed from entire want of employment to employment which pays a few dollars per week, men too have progressed in their employments and occupied entirely new fields.

120. Reasons for Low Wages paid Women.

There are potent and logical reasons why women are employed at the low rates named which cannot be overcome by any considerations, either social or economic or legislative, and they account fairly well for the present status of affairs relative to women's earnings.[1]

First, in stepping out of industrial subjection and general subjection to man, woman comes into the industrial system of the present as an entirely new economic factor; the result being that the pressure to secure positions in that field has created a supply altogether out of proportion to the demand; so that her remuneration is within the power of the employer. This alone is quite sufficient to keep her wages at a low scale.

Second, woman occupies a lower economic plane, which is caused to some extent by a lower standard of activity, both in physical features and in mental demands. She is also the victim of the influence of the assistance which she receives in a large proportion of cases from her family and friends, and which lowers her economic standard.

Third, she receives low wages through an insufficient equipment for life-work, which is not the result of incapacity of mind or lack of skill, but is due largely to the hope that the permanence of work will be interrupted by matrimony. She does not feel warranted in spending years, if required, in equipping herself for the best service; and this is true to some extent in the higher grades of employment now sought by woman. She has not the responsibilities, either of family or of society, to lead her ambition to secure the best results, and she is not therefore stimulated by the powerful forces which stimulate a man to do his best in whatever line he finds his life cast.

Fourth, woman has lacked so far the influence which comes from combination and association. She works in an individual capacity, and with the weakness of individual effort. Furthermore, she has not been a political factor in society, and has

[1] *Forum*, July, 1892.

been dependent on the influence of men generally too selfish to be of any practical benefit to her. This position is well illustrated by the movements in England and in this country to reduce the hours of labour. Long before any legislation took place fixing the hours in certain industries at ten or less, in those industries where men solely or principally were employed the hours of labour had been ten or less. It took legislation, positive enactment, and the power of government to bring the hours of labour of women and children to an equality with those of men.

121. Moral Character of Working Women.

One of the most important questions that arises is, How has woman's moral and intellectual condition been changed by her new industrial environment?[1] That she is intellectually better off now there is no question. The factory has simplified labour, and thus enabled a comparatively ignorant class to perform the work; but it has raised this comparatively ignorant class to a higher intellectual plane; while it cannot be shown that it has caused women of higher intellectual development to degenerate from their former standard.

In the Eastern States we have seen the gradual changes in fifty years of three nationalities of factory employees. The American girl — the daughter of the farmer in New England or the Middle States — was formerly found in the textile factories. She gave place to the English girl, and the English girl in turn to the Irish operative. The Irish operative has gradually given place to the French-Canadian, and many Swedes are now taking their places at the looms and before the spinning frames. Successively each has stepped up in the scale of civilisation and in the improved conditions of her environment. Irish girls are now found in our great stores, — bright, keen saleswomen. The daughters of scrubwomen, having received an education in our public schools, become ambitious to occupy places that none of their ancestors ever

[1] *Forum*, May, 1892.

knew; while in the higher lines of work the opening of universities and colleges and the higher institutions of learning has enabled women to become equipped for the best professional employment. According to the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1895–96, there are 345 universities and colleges in this country which admit women to undergraduate courses. Without industrial prosperity and the mental stimulation which has come through active remunerative employment, it is not too much to say that these great opportunities could not have been opened.

With reference to moral conditions, the popular impression is that women wage-workers are not up to the standards prevalent under the old hand-system of labour, and that her entrance into the industrial field has lowered her moral standard; and the statement is constantly made that low wages naturally compel women to supplement their earnings by an immoral life.

Those who know the circumstances best are convinced that this view is absolutely false, and that the working women of this or any other civilised country are upon as high a plane of purity as any class in the community. The results of an investigation in 1881 into the conditions surrounding factory life in this country and in Europe proved that the charge that the factory promoted immorality and swelled the criminal lists was unfounded. In Manchester, England, a large cellerage population formerly existed, and was erroneously supposed to belong to the factory, and which continually swelled the list of criminals. That population belonged rather to the miserable hovel tenantry outside the factory workers. It was a mistake, however, to take Manchester, which is not a purely factory town, as the criterion by which to judge the factory system; and from this mistake the idea became fixed in the minds of writers that the factory was responsible for many immoral phases of life.

An extensive investigation of the criminal records of a large number of British factory towns disclosed the fact that neither the ranks of the immoral nor the criminal classes were increased

to so great an extent from the factory population as from other classes. It has been clearly shown by official returns from the penitentiary of Manchester that only eight out of fifty immoral women came from the factory; while twenty-nine out of fifty came from domestic service.

The facts that have been collected should dispel the impression that the bulk of the crime of manufacturing towns comes from the factory. It is true that the new system of industry, by securing a better competency, fights bad instincts with the very best weapons, — the interests of those it employs. In large towns the factories have had to contend with all the nuisances which a rapid increase of population beyond the due limits of accommodation must necessarily produce. Notwithstanding the poor material with which the factory system often has to deal, the contest for civilisation is progressing successfully through its influence; and when the power of moral forces is universally recognised in the conduct of industrial enterprises, the ratio of arrests among factory workers of the whole number of arrests will be very much less than it is now.

Turning more specifically to the question of the immorality of women, it should be borne in mind that regular employment is conducive to regular living, and that regular employment does not, as a rule, harmonise with a life of immorality and intemperance, or even of crime. The factory women of this country and of Europe will compare favourably in respect to chastity with the women of any other class. A factory girl whose character is not good usually finds herself in an atmosphere uncongenial at first, and finally so chilling that she leaves the establishment. What there is in factory employment that is not in other employments which should tend to an unchaste life it is difficult to understand. The few statistics that have been collected but emphasise this position, and happily supplement the results of the investigations just referred to.

In 1884 a careful official inquiry was made into the condition of the working women of the city of Boston.[1] The result

[1] Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labour, *Report*, 1884.

was as emphatic as that reached in the investigation of 1881 involving many cities and towns in this country and in Europe. The testimony of the police of Boston was very gratifying, and was fully expressed by a captain of police when he said that people who charged the working women with unchastity did not know what they were talking about. All the officers consulted during the investigation gave similar testimony. The conclusion of that investigation was that, so far as their moral condition was concerned, the working women of the city of Boston were making a heroic, honest, and virtuous struggle to earn an honourable livelihood, and that it was rare that one of them could be found leading an improper life. The fact that here and there a girl forsakes the path of virtue and leads a sinful life should not be used to the detriment of the class to which she belongs. It is easy to be good on a sure and generous income; but it requires the strongest character to enable one to be good on an unstable income of five dollars per week.

Another official investigation, made in 1888,[1] into the character, surroundings, and conditions of working women in twenty-two of the large cities of the United States, comprehending information relating to 3,866 fallen women, showed that a large proportion of them (1,155) came from housework and hotel work; the next largest, so far as occupation is concerned, was 505, from the ranks of seamstresses, dressmakers, and employees of cloak and shirt factories; while 1,236, or 31.97 per cent of the whole number, came directly from their homes. Nor did the investigation show that the employers of labour were guilty of reducing their employees to the condition of unchastity, as is often alleged.

Testimony of capable and honest women — of heads of departments in great stores and millinery establishments and shops, forewomen of shops, and matrons of homes, and of all those best informed and in the best position to give testimony on this point — is that the working women are as respectable, as moral, and as virtuous as any class of women in the country.

[1] U. S. Commissioner of Labour, *Fourth Annual Report.*

Of course there are exceptions in this class, as in all others; but the grand fact must stand out plainly that industry cannot be burdened with a charge that falls in other directions, so far as the charge has any basis upon which it may rest.

122. Employment of Married Women.

The fear that the family is menaced arises from the impression that a large proportion of the women employed in manufacturing establishments are married, and that the home is thus deprived of the care of the wife and mother. The facts themselves dissipate this fear. Of those engaged in agriculture, fisheries, and mining, 22.51 per cent are married; in professional service, 6.94 per cent; in domestic and personal service, 12.84 per cent; in trade and transportation, 7.39 per cent; in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 10.68 per cent are married, 79.05 per cent are single or their conjugal condition unknown, while 9.35 are widows. These proportions are borne out by the Federal census of 1890 and various independent investigations, — all of which show that about ten per cent or a little over of the women employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries are married.

There are evils connected with the employment of married women in factories which may be removed by legislation, and the attempt has been made here and there. It would be well of course if industrial conditions were such that the head of the family could always earn enough to support all its members; but misfortune and various causes have brought married women into workshops. They contribute to the support of the home, and by the employment of children the family income is increased. Probably every right-minded person will welcome the day when neither married women nor young children are found in any of our industrial establishments. Notwithstanding this view, the present condition is better than the old one, under which only a few families could earn their own full support.

Part V.

The Labour System.

CHAPTER XIII.

OLD AND NEW SYSTEMS OF LABOUR.

123. References.

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124. Employment.

The consideration of the employment of women and children, as an important question relating to the family, leads to the discussion of the modern labour system in general and the various conditions and questions arising under it. The prevailing labour system is called variously the wages system, the factory, or aggregated, or associated system of labour, and the competitive or capitalistic system. From a true sociological point of view, it is well to consider it as the wages system, under which the employee is related to the employer through contract and not through status.

The earlier systems of labour did not involve contract; under slavery labour was owned and used as the owner directed; under feudalism, while the labourer was independent

in a certain sense, he was in large degree subject to customs which connected him closely with the soil and with the feudal lord. Notwithstanding these conditions, labour from early times has been paid in wages; yet the wages system as an economic system did not exist as it is known to-day.

Succeeding hand-labour methods we have the modern factory or associated method of production. Many products are still brought out in all countries through hand processes, as, for example, boots and shoes, textiles, clothing, machinery, furniture, and, in fact, very many of the ordinary manufactured commodities, and the factory system has been applied only in a portion of the world; but the great countries which may be denominated as the manufacturing countries of the world have been obliged to adopt the factory system, under which machinery has been developed to a marvellous extent.

This modern system has changed law, custom, relationship of employer and employed, — in fact, has stamped itself upon civilisation. The old domestic relation of employer and employed has passed away, and the employee finds himself related to his employer under conditions which require a remodelling not only of statute but of common law and trade customs. For example, the old apprentice system has practically died out in the United States. Just as in the employment of women, so in the factory system there is a mistaken popular impression that the factory system is in some way demoralising; that it results in the deterioration of the workers employed in production. The reverse is the truth. The factory system has enabled employers to bring into active productive work people of a low grade of intelligence, but in so doing it has raised the standard of those employed, not only in intelligence, but also in living. It has never degraded skilled labour to the ranks of unskilled labour, but it has constantly lifted unskilled labour into the ranks of skilled labour, and thus has enabled vast numbers of persons to earn a comfortable, respectable living through the exercise of some brain power, where under the old system they would have been

compelled to labour at the commonest and meanest toil and under the lowest possible compensation. Where the trolley displaces the locomotive the engineers are wanted as machinists, and dozens of other men find well-paid employment. This has been the effect of the factory system or the present labour system wherever it has been applied, and in those communities where it has not yet come in, the old degraded, ignorant conditions still exist, and men capable of great service to their countries are wasting their lives in coarse labour. The present experience of Japan, in the transition from hand to machine and factory labour, offers a striking illustration and a fertile study in this connection.

Employment under the present system is by contract; it is usually said that the working-man makes his contracts freely. It is true that he is free to make or to refuse a contract, but not to specify the terms; for neither he nor the employer can determine the rate of wages. So the wage-receiver in making a contract must contract to work for such wages as will be paid him under influences beyond the control of either. He is not free to make such a contract as might please him, because, like every party to a contract, he must come to such conditions as can possibly be agreed upon. He is less free than the parties to most contracts, and, further, he cannot utilise his labour in many directions; he must contract for it within restricted lines. He may work by the day or by the week, or by the job, or by the piece, or on any other basis, but in any event the rate of his wages will be regulated by the prevailing rate in the industry in which he is employed and in the locality where he resides.

By reference to the tables of the Eleventh Census relating to occupations, the number of persons in the United States ten years of age and over engaged in various occupations at different periods can be ascertained. The same tables show the number and per cent of persons engaged in agriculture by States and Territories, from 1820 to 1890, inclusive. By these tables one can easily follow out the changes in the proportions

of persons engaged either in agriculture or in manufactures. For instance, it will be seen that in New Hampshire, in 1820, there were 52,384 persons engaged in agriculture; in 1840 but 77,949, and after that a constant decrease, in 1870 to 46,969, in 1880, to 45,122, and in 1890 to 42,279. Turning to manufacturing and mechanical industries, we find that New Hampshire, for the same years, showed again in the number employed from 8,699 in 1820 to 71,408 in 1890. Many like interesting comparisons can be made by the reader for himself by a study of the tables.

The whole number of persons in the United States ten years of age and over engaged in gainful occupations in 1890 was 22,735,661; but this number includes employers, partners, officers, and clerks of all establishments, — everybody, in fact, who was engaged in some remunerative calling. A classification of employments into distinct subdivisions has shown that of this number about 15,000,000 can be considered as wage-earners, and a fairly conservative estimate, based largely on the earnings of persons engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries, gives about $400 per annum as the average individual earnings. This would mean that in 1890 $6,000,000,000, in round numbers, were paid to the wage-earners of the country.

125. Are Money Wages Increasing?

Perhaps the most interesting question in connection with employment is whether wages are increasing or decreasing. All offices devoted to the investigation of social and industrial questions very properly make much of the statistics of wages, and nearly all such offices in this country recognise especially the distinctions between the social and the economic features of wage statistics. The political economist classifies wages as nominal wages and real wages, meaning by "nominal wages" or "money wages" the money actually received for so much labor performed, and by "real wages" the actual power which the nominal wages have in furnishing the necessaries and comforts of life; or, in other words, "real wages" is only another

term for the purchasing power of money. A man's nominal wages to-day may be $15 a week, with low prices; while in 1866, during a period of inflation, he received $15 a week, and prices were perhaps twice as high as at present. This complication and the further division of the social and economic aspects of the wage question have led to repeated attempts by statisticians to ascertain the cost of living as shown by the prices of leading articles of consumption. In the Tenth Census (1880) is a quantity of very valuable material showing the average rates of wages paid in many industries, based, however, principally on averages made up in counting-rooms of manufacturing concerns, without control by the officers in charge of the work.

The great lack, as felt by legislators, economists, and workingmen, has been a report which should present in itself wages and prices for a long period, based on authoritative sources. In 1893 Mr. Aldrich of the Senate Committee on finance published a report on wholesale prices and wages, the material for which was collected largely by the Department of Labour, from actual pay-rolls, and in most instances actual charges in sales-books. In this publication we have, therefore, trustworthy facts for wages and prices in this country for a period of fifty-two years (from 1840 to 1891, inclusive); and from this report, notwithstanding its faults, one can ascertain, both for specific cases and in general, the true course of wages for the whole period. The most significant omission is the "lost time" of workmen, which could not be discovered.

In studying the data referred to, we shall take up (1) specific wages as paid in some of the leading occupations; (2) the relative percentage of increase of wages in general; (3) the prices of some of the leading commodities, specifically considered; and (4) prices considered as a whole. With these four points briefly canvassed, we shall be in a condition to determine positively the relative value of wages at distinct and critical periods of our history since and including 1840, and thus to make possible answers to many questions about social conditions.

Without attempting to give figures for frequent intervals, it will be sufficient to take up the four periods 1840, 1860, 1866, and 1891, as fairly representative of the different economic conditions in this country during the fifty years or so. The year 1860 represents, more nearly than any other year during this half-century, normal economic conditions. The country had then recovered from the financial panic of 1837; industry was in a prosperous condition, and so, too, was commerce, while prices were conservative and labour was fairly well employed and fairly well paid. The influence of machinery was not then felt to so large a degree as at present; crops were good, and all the conditions essential for the establishment of a normal economic year seemed to exist. The next year, the War of the Rebellion interfered with conditions, upset prices, disturbed employment, and made the values of crops, investments, and everything pertaining to industrial conditions speculative or problematical; and this abnormal state continued until after the resumption of specie payment in 1878. The year 1866 saw the country still suffering from inflated prices; but the war was over, and industrial conditions were beginning to settle into conservative ways. So 1860 and 1866 represent normal and abnormal industrial conditions, while the years 1840 and 1891 represent general conditions. Prices were low in 1840; labour was low, and immigration had not set in to any disturbing extent. In 1891 we have low prices again, with highly paid labour, although the country is filled by immigration. The four years selected, therefore, are fair for any positive comparison of the course of real and nominal wages in the United States since 1840.

There would be no necessity whatever of examining the quotations of real wages in the presence of authentic statements as to the rates of wages but for the fluctuations in prices; that is to say, should the general trend of wages be upward, and the general trend of prices stationary or downward, the rates of wages would sufficiently indicate the real wages of the wage-receiver; or, if wages increased and prices remained stationary,

the purchasing power of the wage received would be enhanced. For instance, if a man receives one dollar a day in wages, and wheat is seventy-five cents a bushel, and ten years hence he receives two dollars a day for his labour, and wheat still remains at seventy-five cents, then his purchasing capacity, as represented by his wages, has been doubled. During the period under consideration, the fluctuations of prices were so great and so sudden that we are obliged, for the purpose of arriving at any just conclusion, to consider the two elements, the problem thus being one of those "functions of two variables" which are the delight of the calculus in mathematics.

The money pay of labourers is quite indicative of general conditions. In 1840 a labourer in a large brewery in the city of New York received 62.5 cents a day; in 1860, 84 cents a day; in 1866, $1.30 a day; in 1891, from $1.90 to $2 a day. In a well-known establishment in the State of Connecticut compositors who worked by the day received, in 1840, $1.50; in 1860, $2; in 1866, from $2.50 to $3, and the same in 1891. A building firm in Connecticut paid journeymen carpenters, in 1840, from $1.25 to $1.62 a day; in 1860, from $1.25 to $1.75 a day; in 1891, from $3 to $3.25 a day. A firm of builders in New York paid carpenters in 1840, $1.50 a day; in 1860, $2; in 1866, $3.50; in 1891, $3.50. Painters received about the same wages. Similar quotations could be made for carpenters and painters in different parts of the Eastern States; thus the rates of wages paid to wheelwrights were, in 1840, $1.25; in 1860, $1.25; in 1866, $2; in 1891, $2.50. Cotton weavers (women) in one Massachusetts establishment earned, in 1840, on the average, 62 cents a day; in 1860, 54.5 cents; in 1866, from 85 to 90 cents; in 1891, $1.05. Women frame spinners were paid about the same, earning a little more in the later years. Wool spinners, both jack and mule, earned less than one dollar a day in 1840, while in 1860 they earned $1.05 a day; in 1866, from $1.80 to $1.90 a day; in 1891, from $1.38 to $1.75 a day.

The average money earnings of puddlers have been subject

to great variations, purely because the usual scale is so much per ton of iron puddled. In 1840, at Ætna, Pa., puddlers earned $3.69 a day; in 1860, $2.67 a day; in 1866, from $5.37 to $6.04 a day; in 1891, $3.67. In another iron-works, at Duncannon, Pa., the rates were $2.30, $2.01, $4.83, and $2.91 for the years named. The rates of wages a day, successively, for the years named, for blasters and drillers in the New Jersey ore district, were 75 cents, $1, $1.65, and $1.50; and for unskilled labourers in mining ore at Cornwall, Pa., 50 cents, 75 cents, $1.45, and $1.55.

The salaries paid to teachers indicate the earnings of a well-equipped body of public servants. From facts furnished by Hon. William T. Harris, Commissioner of Education, it is learned that principals of boys' high schools in Baltimore received, per annum, in 1840, $1,500; in 1860, $1,500; in 1866, $2,200; in 1891, $2,400. Principals of primary schools for both boys and girls in the same city received $250, $300, $700, and $696 per annum. Assistants (women) in the lowest primary schools in the city of Boston received, for the first year of service, $300 in 1860, $450 in 1866, and $456 in 1891. The range for masters in grammar schools in the same city was from $1,500 in the earlier period to $2,880 in the last year that we are considering. Stepping outside of cities, the facts are found very complete for the remote districts of Barnstable County, in the State of Massachusetts, where men received, in 1840, $20.28 a month; in 1860, $40.73 a month; in 1866, $53.60 a month; in 1890, $68.18 a month. Women in the same counties received $6.14, $19.12, $22.53, and $34.88 a month. Principals (men) of district schools in Cincinnati received, for our four periods, $540, $1,200, $1,900, and $1,900 a year, the last two quotations being for salaries after three years' service.

These various individual quotations are, perhaps, sufficient to indicate the course of wages in some of the leading occupations of the country where such quotations can be secured for the whole period. In individual cases chance, personal merit,

and consideration of employers make great variations, especially where there is a confidential relation. For instance, in 1850 a book-keeper in Manchester, N. H., received sixty-three cents a day. With varying compensation he secured a salary of $2 a day in 1865, and he continued to work for this until January, 1877, when a young woman was appointed to his place, at $1 a day. After working four years, she received precisely the same salary the man was receiving when he was discharged, — that is, $2 a day, — while in 1889, in January, her salary was raised to $3.33 a day. The man enlisting with the firm in January, 1850, at sixty-three cents a day, and working twenty-seven years, received only $2 a day, and that for a long term; while the young woman, starting at $1 a day, was able in eleven years to secure $3.33 a day.

126. The General Increase in Money Wages.

Turning from the specific wages paid in some of the leading occupations, it is interesting to study the percentage of increase of wages in general. The method adopted by the Senate Committee on Finance was to assume the wages in 1860 as normal, or 100. Starting from this basic point, it was found that an average of the wages taken from actual pay-rolls in twenty-one industries and from nearly one hundred distinct establishments was 87.7 in 1840, 100 in 1860, 152.4 in 1866, and 160.7 in 1891. When the figures are averaged according to their importance for the number employed in each of the various industries, the result is a little different, — 82.5 in 1840, 100 in 1860, 155.6 in 1866, and 168.6 in 1891; that is, wages in 1891 were about double those of 1840.

Since 1893 there has been a decline in money wages of from 10 to 15 per cent, and in some extraordinary cases of 20 or 25 per cent; but at the present time (1898) there is a rebound, and the tendency of wages is upward again.

The general progress of wages is shown not so much by rates per day as by average annual earnings. Such statements are more difficult to obtain, but they indicate tendencies. For

this purpose we may use our census reports, which state aggregate earnings, and also the average number of persons among whom the earnings are divided. In 1850 the average annual earnings of each employee engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits (excluding officers and clerks), men, women, and children, in round numbers, were $247; in 1860, $289; in 1870, $302; in 1880, $347; and in 1890, $445. These statements are not mathematically accurate, because the divisor used is not always sure, but the figures show steady, positive increase in the average annual earnings of the employees in our great industrial pursuits, and are corroborated by individual State investigations, especially by the Massachusetts State census of 1895.

Like results are shown by the investigations of foreign conditions; there has been a constant increase of wages since the century opened. The great reports on wages now being published by the British Department of Labour and the bureaus of labour in Continental countries all show the same general tendency, and that wages in the United States are higher than in any other country. In relation to the rate of wages and general earnings the rank of different countries is as follows: United States, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany.

The increase in money wages corresponds to the development of a new conception of the wage-earners' function in society. Formerly subsistence was allowed the slaves, and wages were paid to the freeman on the basis of preserving the efficiency of the working human machine, and they did not exceed the needs for the preservation of efficiency. This has been called the iron law of wages, under which food, shelter, and clothing in sufficient quantities to keep the man in good working order were considered a fair gauge of the rate of wage which should be paid to him. To-day the workingman demands not only these necessities, but something beyond, — a surplus, which shall go to the support of what may be called his spiritual nature; that is, not merely abundant food, a comfortable dwelling, a variety of clothing, but opportunities for

reading, amusement, recreation, music, something of art, and, above all, a better opportunity for his children. He desires to surround himself with the comforts and conveniences and a fair proportion of even the luxuries of life; and every right-minded person must admit that it is a proper contention. He has been taught to consider himself as one of the social and political elements of the community, and he must therefore have some of the things that belong to such a position. He is educated in the schools, seeks legislative experience, takes part in the politics of the country, and the whole basis of a democratic government assumes that he is more than a human machine; that he shall have time and means for an existence suitable for an intelligent citizen of the republic.

127. Cost of Living.

That money wages have increased has now been proved beyond cavil; the next step is to consider whether that increase has been counterbalanced or augmented by changes in money prices of the things that the consumer uses. To learn the "real wages" we must consider the prices of some of the leading commodities specifically considered, and then the course of prices of all articles considered as a whole; and for this purpose wholesale prices, as coming nearest to the producers' receipts, more fully indicate the real fluctuations in values. So many elements conspire to raise or lower retail prices, and the difficulty of securing them on any uniform basis of report warrants the use of wholesale prices to show the relation of price to cost of living. Could retail prices be systematically obtained, with a uniform addition of profit to the wholesale cost, they would be much more satisfactory; but as indicative of the variations in cost of living from period to period, probably wholesale prices offer the steadiest if not the best basis for comparison.

The prices quoted are for the same month and day in each year and for actual sales in New York, and the same typical dates will be used as in the discussion of money wages, viz.,

1840, 1860, 1866, and 1891. A few of those articles which enter largely into the consumption of working people run as follows: Boston crackers, medium grade, per pound, in 1840, 6 cents; in 1860, 8½ cents; in 1866, 9 cents; in 1891, 5 cents; fair butter, per pound, 16 to 20, 16, 42, and 25 cents; coffee, fair Rio, per pound, 9½, 13½, 23, and 19 cents; eggs, per dozen, 12, 14, 24, 18 cents; flour, medium quality, a quarter barrel, $1.75, $2.25, $4.06, and $1.63; medium beef, fresh, per pound, 10, 14, 25, and 17 cents; clear bacon, per pound, 8, 8½, 15½, and 6½ cents; prime New Orleans molasses, per gallon, 26, 48, $1.10, and 32 cents; refined sugar, crushed or granulated, per pound, 12, 10, 16¾, and 4¼ cents; Cocheco calico, per yard, 12, 9½, 21, and 6 cents; anthracite stove coal, per ton, $4.50, $3.86, $7.50, and $3.90; rent, for tenement of five rooms, per week, $1.75, $1.75, $4.50, and $4.50. Innumerable other quotations might be made, but the foregoing are fairly representative.

Taking the prices from the Senate Finance Committee's report as a whole, and considering them on the same basis as that on which we considered wages, that is, assuming the quotations for 1860 to be 100, or normal, — and taking 223 of the leading articles of consumption in accordance with their importance relative to total consumption (rents not being included), it is found that the proportionate general prices are for 1840, 97.7; for 1860, 100; for 1866, 187.7; and for 1891, 94.4; that is to say, prices generally fell in thirty-one years from 100 (1860) to 94.4 (1891).

Since in the previous comparison it was shown that wages, averaged with reference to the numbers employed in the various industries, stood at 168.6 in 1891 relatively to 100 in 1860, and since the prices of 223 commodities, averaged on the basis stated above, fell from 100 in 1860 to 94.4 in 1891, the following conclusions seem positive and absolute: the percentage of increase in prices rose in 1866 to a point far beyond the increase in wages, but prices fell in 1891 to a point lower, on the whole, than they were in 1840, and wages rose even above

the high point they reached in 1866; so that in 1891 the purchasing power of a day's labour was in the proportion of 168 to 100, the purchasing power in 1860.

To make a specific illustration from common affairs, let us take the case of a journeyman carpenter in the city of New York, see what his wages were in a week of July of the four years named, and what he would have had to pay for a week's supply of the articles which have been enumerated above, at the price quoted for each for July of that year, assuming, for reasons already given, that he could purchase these things at wholesale rates. For the purpose of simplifying the problem and making it as natural as possible, we will assume that the carpenter bought, in each of the weeks named, five pounds of Boston crackers, of fair grade; five pounds of butter, of fair grade; two and a half pounds of cheese; two pounds of fair Rio coffee; one dozen eggs; one quarter of a barrel of flour, of medium grade; four pounds of fresh beef, of medium grade; four pounds of bacon, clear; one gallon of prime New Orleans molasses; five pounds of refined sugar, either crushed or granulated; ten yards of Cocheco calico, and half a ton of anthracite stove coal; and that he paid one week's rental. All these articles would have cost, for the years named, respectively, $10.22, $10.73, $21.66, and $12.17. The journeyman carpenter received, in 1840, $1.50 a day; in 1860, $2 a day; in 1866, $3.50 a day; and in 1891, $3.50 a day. In 1891 he worked eight hours and in the other years ten hours a day. His earnings in July of the years named were, therefore, respectively, $9, $12, $21, and $21 a week. In 1840, after paying the bill which has been described at the close of the last week in July, he would have been in debt $1.22; in 1860 he would have had left from his week's wages $1.27; in 1866 he would have been in debt 66 cents; while in 1891 he would have had $8.83 to spare, and would have had two hours extra per day for his own use.

These simple references and combinations show quite clearly the real wages as against the nominal wages of the

wage-receiver, and the inevitable conclusion to which they lead is that whenever prices of commodities rise, they rise higher, relatively, than does the price of labour, and that when prices go down they go down much lower, relatively, than does the price of labour, which shows a tenacity in holding to the money wage which has been gained, notwithstanding its greater purchasing power.

No attempt has been made in the foregoing calculations to reduce values to a gold basis, because in all the periods considered labour was paid in currency, whether at par in gold or on an inflated basis, and the man who received wages paid for his articles on the same basis. For instance, our carpenter received $3.50 in 1866 in greenbacks, while in 1891 he received $3.50 on a gold basis; but in 1840 he bought calico at 12 cents a yard (gold basis); and in 1866 at 21 cents (inflated currency); but in 1891 he was able to buy it at 6 cents a yard on a gold basis.

Taking wages and prices together, — and they must be so considered to reach just conclusions, — it seems fair to conclude that rates of wages have increased constantly, with some deviation in commercial depressions; that average earnings have also increased, and that average prices on the whole have remained not far from stationary; hence the economic condition of the wage-earner has improved vastly during the last fifty or sixty years, and any falling off due to temporary causes has been speedily overcome in large degree, if not entirely.

Another method of dealing with the complicated question of the cost of living is to secure an exact statement of the expenditures of families by items, and then to compare the cost for families in like or different conditions; but this budget method requires too much space to be introduced into a work of this kind. The late Dr. Ernst Engel, of Prussia, employed this method most effectively, and it has been followed by nearly all the offices dealing with industrial statistics.

128. Hours of Labour.

One method of securing the additional comfort which the workingman desires is by a reduction of the hours of labour, and it has been brought about in the United States, notwithstanding the increase of wages and the decline of prices. Since 1860, even, the ordinary work-day in mills and the like has been made shorter by nearly an hour and a half. When the factory was first established, operatives worked, on the average, about 13 hours a day. They now work from 56 to 60 hours per week, and in all industries there has been a general shortening of the work-day. It is not equal everywhere, but the tendency is to require less and less time of the worker who is employed in running machinery.

The movement for the lessening of hours began in England in 1802–03, and it has been persistent to this day, till 56 hours is the rule in many industries; but this applies to women. No State has felt at liberty to interfere with the right of the adult man to regulate his own hours of labour, but wherever many women and children are employed in industries the factory stops when their day ends; thus the law practically establishes the work-day of the men. An exception to this statement is found in the experience of Utah under its new constitution, in accordance with which law has fixed the hours of labour for miners.

The agitation for less hours was begun in this country about 1845, by the operatives in the factories at Lowell, Mass. At present nearly all of the States having textile industries have regulated the hours for women, and thus established the work-day for men. In New England the first 10-hour law was passed in 1874 by Massachusetts. Other Northern States followed, and this class of legislation has spread over the country. In the Southern textile mills 66 hours per week is more generally the rule; in Massachusetts it is 58, while by the law in New Jersey it is 55 hours, although the law is but little observed outside the silk industry in that State. In nearly all

mechanical industries other than textiles the 10-hour day became a custom long before law exerted its influence, but where women were concerned the hours were more than 10 until law intervened.

Many of the States have laws defining what a day's labour shall consist of in the absence of any specific contract, and in some it is defined as 8 hours and in others as 10. As long ago as 1848 President Van Buren issued an order that 10 hours should constitute a day's work in Federal employment, and in 1868 Congress passed a law making 8 hours a day's labour on public works. In many industries it is quite impossible to establish, either by custom or law, a specific work-day, as in iron-works, which must be kept running day and night in order to prevent waste, and on railroads, where to limit or define the hours which railroad employees should work would be disastrous to transportation. Nevertheless, in all branches the tendency is towards a decrease in the length of the day of employment. On railroads a stipulated run is defined as constituting a day's labour, although on some roads the pay is by the hour, and where works run day and night the time of employment is regulated by shifts or sections. Sometimes there are three shifts of employees. In many industries, in factories and elsewhere, the hours of labour are fixed by the trades unions at ten, often nine, and sometimes eight, and employers have been compelled to accede by strikes. Many important work-people cannot, in the nature of things, have the advantage of such a system. Such are sailors, watchmen, farm-hands, domestic servants, and soldiers.

The general sentiment of all countries where machinery has been employed to any extent is that with speeded machinery the work-day should be shortened so that the wage-earner may receive some of the benefits of invention. It is certainly reasonable that in our modern civilisation a man should not be compelled to work as many hours as formerly in order to earn a living; with the spread of education and the development of intelligence the wage-receiver should have more time for his

own leisure, recreation, and recuperation. It is on the general principle that improvements should not be monopolised that these customs come into force and, to a large extent, have all the influence of law. Thus it is seen that wages increase, prices of most products decrease, and the hours of labour are lessened, all of which benefits have arisen under the modern system of labour.

129. Sunday Labour.

The Sunday labour question is another matter which from time to time agitates the public mind; for there is a great and constant increase in this class of labour, and the interest felt in its effect upon the men engaged in it, as well as the moral effect upon the community, has given the subject an economic and ethical importance which places it among the leading phases of modern industrial life. Apart from the religious aspect of the case, physical, social, and ethical considerations demand one day of rest in the week.

The Federal Government recognises Sunday as a day of rest, as illustrated by the various provisions of law concerning the dealings of the Government with officers and employees in all branches of governmental work, — in suspending labour wherever it is possible, in providing that courts shall not sit, that post-offices shall not be open except under certain conditions, and that all official business shall practically be suspended. All the States of the American Union, with the exception, perhaps, of one, recognise the day, and most of them protect it. Sunday laws differ in their provisions, but it is a part of the movement of organised labour to secure freedom from employment on Sunday.

A study of the matter shows that there is little productive work done on Sunday; that is, the production of goods for profit. In some branches, like the iron business, brewing, and a few others, where there would be great loss without continuous processes, Sunday labour prevails; but even in such cases it is restricted to the absolutely economic conditions re-

sulting from the nature of the business. The great volume of Sunday labour grows out of personal service, — the demand which individuals make of other individuals, either from necessity, from custom, or from desire. Railroads run on Sunday because individual members of the community demand the convenience. Newspapers are published Sunday because readers want the news. Work in connection with hotels, restaurants, and the supplying of food generally is the result of the personal necessities of man. So, looking the field over broadly, there are seen to be two classes of labour performed, — that for the production of wealth, and that for personal service. The reduction of Sunday labour, then, is a matter which rests with the consciences and the necessities of people, not with the great producers of commodities.

The laws relating to Sunday labour almost invariably exempt from their provisions personal service, and apply to markets, shops, commerce, work of a purely business nature, where provision can be made beforehand. The facts show that it is the sheer will of man, actuated by no constraint of nature nor any selfish motive of profit, but only by what is considered as some human convenience, that causes all or nearly all the Sunday labour.

The great sociological question underlying the matter is, Shall the wage-worker be given sufficient opportunity for rest and recreation during the week? or, Shall he be obliged to take such rest and recreation on Sunday? And then arises the ethical question as to what is rest. To one man the attendance upon church brings restfulness, while to another some other form of occupation would determine the character of the rest; but to the man whose muscles have been strained to their utmost tension for six days and for ten hours each day, whose nervous force has been largely drawn upon through the action of speeded machinery, and who has had no time during the week for reading, or for recreation, or for many of the amenities which come to people of different callings, a day of rest may be entirely another affair. In order to secure to such

a man the opportunity to keep Sunday in ways which seem to be associated with the Sabbath, the conditions of his employment as to hours and wages must be such that his mental attitude will enable him to enjoy Sunday according to ethical or religious standards; it should not be the only day on which he can indulge in amusements.

130. The Unemployed.

In striving to establish a basis for a sure judgment in sociological questions, it has been necessary to disprove several obstinate preconceptions, as, for instance, with regard to the effect of the factory on women's character. Another fixed idea not sustained by the facts is that under the prevailing system of labour there is an increasing class of persons who cannot find employment. Some of the evils that cluster about the present labour system are not products of it, but simply are co-existent; some of them seem inseparable from the very nature of the aggregated system of production. Whatever the reason for the existence of the unemployed, it is probable that the proportion of the unemployed to the whole number of persons in the country does not increase. The numbers vary from time to time, owing to disturbed conditions of trade and industry; but taking decades of years together, the idle are undoubtedly fewer than they were in earlier centuries. England in 1600 was plagued by "sturdy vagabonds," and one of the chief causes of the settlement of the American colonies was to rid England of what we now call "tramps." Nevertheless, the presence of a large number of unemployed persons is always a menace to society, whatever the cause, and every effort which can be made, either by law or by philanthropic and benevolent movement, to reduce the number is in the interest of society at large.

It is not necessary to credit the wild statements made on this subject; they are sufficiently disproved by their own uniformity. In 1878 it was always "three millions out of work." During the recent depression of 1893 96 the same number lodged in the public mind. On the other hand, it is difficult

to determine by the statistical method the number of unemployed at any one time; yet some investigations have produced results fairly significant of real conditions.

The first important attempt was at the Tenth Census (1880), but the results were considered so faulty as not to warrant their tabulation. More satisfactory were the returns of the Massachusetts Census of 1885, the Eleventh Census of the United States, and the special report of Professor Dewey, from the Massachusetts Commission on the Unemployed. The results of the Massachusetts Census showed that out of a total of 816,470 persons employed in all gainful occupations in that State, 241,589, or 29.59 per cent, were unemployed at their principal occupation, on an average, 4.11 months during the census year, the average "unemployment" for persons engaged in manufactures pure and simple being 3.9 months. In other words, about one-third of the total number of persons engaged in remunerative labour were unemployed at their principal occupation for about one-third of the working time. Notwithstanding these figures, 822 persons only were returned as having been unemployed during the entire twelve months of the year. The total loss of available labour would therefore appear to be about one-ninth.

In 1890, at the Federal census, it was shown that out of the total number of persons ten years of age and over engaged in gainful occupations (22,735,661) those who were unemployed at their principal occupation during any portion of the census year amounted to 3,523,730, being 15.50 per cent of the total number. Unfortunately, the data relative to the length of time unemployed were not very exact, but the approximate average number of persons unemployed during the entire census year was 1,139,672, or 5.01 per cent of the total number of persons engaged in gainful occupations, a loss of about one-twentieth of the nation's productive force. This proportion is substantially confirmed by a calculation, based on somewhat extensive inquiry and observation and by different individuals, for the year ending July 1, 1885.

Of course, there is a large number of unemployed at all times, whether there is an industrial depression prevailing or not. The point is, What is the number that society must care for, or that cannot by any organisation be absorbed in the industries of the country? One million people out of employment means a very great loss in every direction and a crippling of the consuming power of the country; the loss of their purchases may be represented by at least $500,000 per day, or over $150,000,000 in one year, a sum which, if withdrawn from trade, is sufficient of itself to cause a reaction in business and a general curtailment of expenses, from which there results apprehension and timidity among all classes. It is curious, however, to observe that while the severity of any depression is supposed to cause a crippling of the consuming power of the people, the volume of business transacted is not much reduced. During the severest periods of the recent depression the volume of business declined only from 6 to 10 per cent.

In 1878 the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labour undertook to ascertain the number of persons out of employment. The popular statement was that there were 300,000 in the Commonwealth seeking employment. The fallacy of this statement did not appear until it was ascertained that there were only a little over 300,000 persons engaged at that time in the mechanical industries alone of the State. A canvass at two periods of the year, June and November, made through town and city officials, showed that in June there were about 23,000 persons seeking employment, and in November about 28,000.

No satisfactory general method of providing employment for the unemployed has yet been suggested. In the early part of the century English economists had to meet this question, and almost universally they recommended the mobilising of labour; that is, the transferring of bodies of labourers from one industry to another, but nothing came or could come of a recommendation requiring such superhuman skill in foreseeing the future development of industry. In recent years cities and

states, through commissions and otherwise, have studied the problem, but so far without any very satisfactory results. The utilisation of waste lands for the employment of persons out of work in raising vegetables for their own families or for sale has here and there mitigated the severity of prevailing conditions, but that method has not solved the question of the unemployed. Many recommend the establishment of public workshops, such as were tried and failed in France in 1848; but this would only increase the sharpness of competition, because public shops could sell their products without any particular regard to cost, while private producers must sell at a price above cost or suspend operations. In Switzerland an attempt was made recently to get a constitutional amendment declaring the existence of a "right to employment," and in that country and elsewhere systems of insurance against "worklessness" have been attempted, but without success.

Each country devoted to mechanical production is struggling with this problem, and at the same time with the problem of how to dispose of surplus products. It is a very complicated sociological question, and as the altruistic spirit increases, under which every man and every community of men is desirous of seeing every other man fairly prosperous and engaged in productive employment, the efforts to find a solution will grow stronger till governments are called upon to aid the efforts. It is a pretty problem for human organisation to provide productive labour for all who are willing to work.

131. The Tramp.

But how shall tramps, idlers from choice, be prevailed upon to work? The number of this class of persons is undoubtedly greatly exaggerated, as was shown a few years ago in one of the Eastern States, when an officer secured returns from each municipality of the number of tramps housed at public expense each night during the year. He arrived at the startling result that in that State there were something over 60,000 tramps, frightening his fellow-citizens, and bringing down severe com-

ments upon his State. Therefore the same officer, and others in other departments, undertook to ascertain the exact number of tramps housed on a particular night and at different periods of the year, and found that the greatest number of tramps shown to be present in the State at any one time was about 1,100. By rapid marches and countermarches in and out of the various station-houses and lodging-houses, this regiment of tramps had multiplied itself into an army. The report of Dr. Davis R. Dewey to the Massachusetts legislature on the question of the unemployed gives the number of wayfarers and tramps in many localities in Massachusetts.

The tramps who are found in this country embody the gypsy element to a large degree. They have no particular relation to the industrial system: they are parasitic, and hang on to the edges of civilisation; they get a certain enjoyment out of life through freedom from responsibility and from the necessity of self-support. As a rule, they are not men seeking employment, but are fond of adventure, and, as a class, will exist so long as society supports them. The facts gathered by Dr. J. J. McCook, of Hartford, and by others tend to confirm this idea of the tramp army. The only usefulness which so far seems to come from their adventures is the fund of humour they supply to comic papers.

132. The Sweating System.

It is generally supposed that the so-called sweating system is a product of the modern system of industry; so far from it, it is a relic of the system which prevailed universally prior to the introduction of the factory system; for under the hand or domestic system of labour the sweating system was quite universal.

The term "sweating system" is specifically used to describe a condition of labour in which a maximum amount of work in a given time is performed for a minimum wage, and in which the ordinary rules of health and comfort are disregarded. These conditions are found in crowded populations in large

cities, where work is carried on in living-rooms, away from manufacturing establishments. The sweat-shop is the small shop of the master and journeyman conducted in connection with the household, the very method that existed prior to the advent of our modern system. It prevails where manufacturers, especially of clothing, "put out" work, as it is called; that is, where they give the material, properly cut out for the manufacture of garments, into the hands of a man who is known as a sweater (really a small contractor), who in turn hires men and women and children to make up the goods under conditions of labour, discomfort, and meagre wages which justify his title. This small contractor pays barely living wages, and when the garments are finished he turns them over to the large dealer or manufacturer with whom he has his contract.

Contrary to general opinion, this system is not peculiar to the manufacture of the cheapest grade of garments; as a matter of fact, oftentimes the highest grade of ready-made clothing is made by the sweater.

The employees in this work are usually very ignorant, are importations from eastern Europe, and are willing to work at a trade which requires little apprenticeship and at the lowest wage in order to get an economic foothold. Crowded in close rooms, without regard to sex or age, the evils of the sweat-shop come very largely within the domain of morals, although the economic phases should demand consideration. London abounds in shops of this class; Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago are the places in this country in which these sweat-shops are more generally found. Public attention of late has been very sharply called to their existence, and to the very bad conditions which surround the workers, and efforts have been made not only to regulate but to abolish all such places. So far the surest preventive has been found in extending the laws relating to factory inspection to the sweat-shop. When this extension becomes general, and the laws are faithfully executed by a competent corps of inspectors, this relic of the old domestic system will give way to the more beneficent modern

system. Sanitary conditions, consisting of healthful places in which work is carried on, will do much to remove the physical evils accompanying the method, and by the regulation of the number of persons to be employed within a given space, much of the immorality prevailing in the sweat-shop will cease.

Some effort has been made to colonise the sweat-shop workers of New York on the farms of Connecticut, but an observer has discovered that the principal crop produced by these honest countrymen is "bicycle pants," made up from bundles of cloth sent up by manufacturers.

Another method of killing the sweat-shop is found in the use of what is called the union label, by which labour unions secure the manufacture of goods under their supervision, and by which customers may be informed that the goods purchased were produced under proper conditions. The union label has been subjected to some abuse, but it has a future, and the good or bad results of its use will depend upon the integrity with which it is employed.

Closely related to the union label are the efforts of what is called the Consumers' League, or White League, or other organisation which undertakes to inform the public as to places where goods that have been produced under sanitary conditions and through the payment of decent wages may be purchased. The Consumers' League is what may be called a very high-toned boycott, under which dealers in sweat-shop goods may be avoided, and consequently driven into the adoption of methods which will insure trade. The movement is an interesting one, but there are various complications under it; as, for instance, as pointed out by Dr. John Graham Brooks, in his valuable pamphlet on the Consumers' League, What will become of the sweat-shop workers when they are deprived of work through the ethical efforts of such a league and the use of the union label? The old moral question arises, whether the good of the majority is to be conserved, even at the cost of a miserable minority. All these efforts, with an effective system of factory inspection, will undoubtedly mitigate the evils of the

sweating system and, it is to be hoped, ultimately remove it. One flower at least has bloomed in a sweat-shop; the remarkable career of [illegible] himself a sweating master and [illegible] experience of [illegible] in the [illegible] sweat-shops.

162. General Benefits to Society of the New System of Labour.

Considering the old and new systems of labour on the broadest possible basis, the conclusion is inevitable that society has been greatly benefited through the opening of employments to as large a part of the people as possible. There has been great extension of natural forces which could not have been developed under the old system: this development has logically opened opportunities for employment and for the improvement of the character of employment; it has brought about a desire for higher intelligence, a knowledge of natural laws and of industrial conditions, which in turn has necessitated the extension of the school system, thus opening the way for the employment of a large number of persons, especially women, in the [illegible] industries; and should comparisons be drawn between this country and others, it would be found that the chance of an intelligent girl in Germany, for instance, to secure a high grade of employment is far below that of an intelligent American girl. This country does not present scenes which can be found in industrial cities in other countries, unless it be during the first years of the residence of immigrants. One of the most satisfactory results of this condition of affairs in our own country is that nowhere will be found that respect for and consideration of women that exist with us. While the new system of labour has been developed in other countries, the general intelligence accompanying the development in the United States has been on broader lines, and as it has taken place under institutions which reflect common intelligence, it is but a necessary corollary that the conditions surrounding the development are of a higher grade than elsewhere.

CHAPTER XIV.

APPLIANCES OF THE MODERN LABOUR SYSTEM.

134. References.

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135. The Effect of Machinery.

One of the chief appliances, or rather the foundation, of the modern labour system is machinery. The statistics of production reveal the fact that at this day nearly all commodities have been subjected at some stage to the machine process of production. Hence there is a wide-spread belief that the general introduction of machinery, or the application of invention to production, has resulted in a great displacement

of labour, and our next inquiry is whether labour-saving machines, so-called, have really deprived men of the opportunity to labour.

This important question is subject to an affirmative and a negative answer, according to the point of view from which the question is approached. To the individual who finds himself even temporarily thrown out of employment on account of the adoption of a new invention the answer must be in the affirmative; to men collectively the answer must be in the negative. Whether the individual man continues to suffer often depends upon his particular skill and general knowledge and the facility with which he can adapt himself to new lines of employment. The question is an old one to the people living now, but one hundred and twenty years ago it was a new one and could not then be answered so positively.

Every material improvement by which society is permanently benefited temporarily hurts somebody or disturbs some interest; every advance in civilisation means the temporary discomfort, inconvenience, and loss, even, to some man or some set of men. For an illustration of this position the reader is referred to the section on the sweating system and the work of the Consumers' League. The difficulty there presented comprehends the loss of work to low-paid sweat-shop employees for the sake of the general good. No one would for a moment consider the restriction of the liquor traffic as harmful to the country at large; yet the cessation of the manufacture of malt and spirituous liquors would deprive the farmers of this country temporarily of a market for more than sixty million bushels of grain, and agricultural stagnation in a far greater degree than has ever been experienced would be the result; and when considering the manufacture of liquors and the traffic therein, according to recent estimates there would be probably one and a quarter billion dollars of capital thrown out of active and remunerative employment, nearly half a million persons deprived of wages, transportation crippled, and a vast train of temporary industrial evils would follow.

The introduction of machinery, which took place on the present lines between 1760 and 1770, was met with riots and opposition which at one time looked like the suppression of invention. When Hargreave's jenny was first brought into use people said that he could by some unknown power spin more threads than any one else; and his invention, instead of gaining him admiration and gratitude, excited the suspicion of the spinners, who raised an outcry that it would throw multitudes out of employment. A mob broke into his house and destroyed not only his spinning-jenny, but most of his furniture. These scenes have been repeated all along the history of the application of inventions in the mechanic arts; yet the capital of millions of pounds sterling which first built factories with power machinery for spinning and weaving was made available by the abolition of the slave trade, in which it had previously been engaged; and by the new use the cost of clothing was reduced and the consumption of raw material vastly increased.

When a thousand threads could be spun on a single machine whereas only one could be spun by hand, it is not strange that the new force met with great opposition. Even at this day the same argument affects many well-meaning people. But it is not true that men in the aggregate have been deprived of labour through what are called labour-saving machines: if they do in the initiative save labour to their owners, they also make labour in the aggregate; if they supplement individual muscular force to a very large extent, they create or expand labour in the long run. So the answer to society must be that such machines do not deprive men of labour, and this position is so clearly supported by the present facts in the case that it is not really necessary to go back of the experience of the last generation of the nineteenth century.

In 1870 the *per capita* consumption of iron in the United States was 105.64 pounds; in 1890 it was 283.38 pounds. This vast increase is in its results a fair offset to the effects of

any individual displacement which may have occurred. The consumption of steel in 1880 was 46 pounds *per capita;* and in 1890 it had risen to 144 pounds. The *per capita* consumption of cotton in this country in 1830 was a little less than 10 pounds; in 1890 it was almost 19 pounds. This indicates that the labour necessary to earn such consumption must have kept up to, if not gone far beyond, the earlier standard of employment, as measured by the actual number of people employed.

136. Proportions of Skilled and Unskilled Labour.

The value of statistics in correcting popular but fallacious impressions is conclusively shown in this particular question; for statistics show that in those countries where manufacturing industries have been developed to the greatest extent, a larger proportion of the people are employed than in countries where mechanical industries do not prevail. This could not be the case if the introduction of machinery has deprived men of labour.

Take another point of view. The most prolific period of inventions in America was from 1860 to 1890, and consequently any unfavourable influence must have developed; yet while the population increased a little over 99 per cent, the number of persons employed in all gainful occupations (manufacturing, agriculture, domestic service, — all occupations) increased over 176 per cent. In the two decades from 1870 to 1890 the population increased 62.41 per cent, while the number of persons in all occupations increased 81.80 per cent.

Making a closer analysis of the statements from which the foregoing are drawn, it is found that the increase in the number of those engaged in manufacturing, mechanical, and mining industries — those which must have felt the influence of inventions more than other lines of industry — was, for the period from 1860 to 1890, 171.19 per cent, while the total population increased but 99.16 per cent. It is impossible to

escape the conclusion that the results of the application of machinery must have been in the aggregate beneficial, instead of detrimental, — more men must have been called into active employment as machines were more generally applied.

It is sometimes asserted by those who consider machinery inimical to the interest of labour that, even admitting a gain in numbers in manufacturing and mechanical and in some other industries, there has been a falling off in agriculture. This is true relatively, but is not a sound argument against the fact that the total number of the people employed increases relative to the total population. Intensive agriculture leads to greater production for a given area, and results in the employment of a less number of farm labourers, relatively.

Society may be compared to a pyramid, the base representing its lower stratum, and the apex the few in whose hands are to be found the vast fortunes; but in all progressive countries the form of the pyramid is changing, the apex broadening to a plane and the base becoming restricted. In 1870 the 12,505,923 workers — that is to say, 32.43 per cent of the total population — supported themselves and the remainder of the people. In 1880 the number of breadwinners was 17,392,099, or 34.68 per cent of the total population; in 1890 this number had risen to 22,735,661, or 36.31 per cent of the total population. Analysing the statistics, we find some remarkable results. The number engaged in the lowest walks of activity, labourers and the like, is decreasing in proportion, while those employed in the higher walks are increasing in number relatively to the whole population. For purposes of demonstration, let us consider the population in four groups.

The first group, consisting of farmers and planters who are proprietors, bankers, brokers, manufacturers, merchants, and dealers, and those engaged in professional pursuits, constituted 10.17 per cent of the whole population in 1870, 11.22 per cent in 1880, and 11.97 per cent in 1890, showing a steady gain in the proportion of this high class of breadwinners to the whole population.

A second group, composed of agents, collectors, commercial travellers, book-keepers, clerks, salesmen, and others in kindred occupations in 1870 constituted 0.91 per cent of the whole population; in 1880 the percentage rose to 1.25, and in 1890 it reached 2.15, showing again a constant increase in relative proportions.

The third group includes the skilled workers of the community, such as clothing-makers, engineers, and firemen, food preparers, leather workers, those engaged in the mechanical trades, metal workers, printers, engravers, and bookbinders, steam railroad employees, textile workers, tobacco and cigar factory operatives, wood workers, and those in similar mechanical pursuits; they constituted 6.59 per cent of the whole population in 1870, 7.18 per cent in 1880, and 8.75 per cent in 1890, a constantly increasing relative proportion.

The fourth group — agricultural labourers, boatmen, fishermen, sailors, draymen, hostlers, ordinary labourers, miners, and quarrymen, messengers, packers, porters, servants, and all other pursuits of like grade — shows a different state of things; for in 1870 this class of workers constituted 14.76 per cent of the total population, and in 1890 only 13.44 per cent, while the sum of the three other classes was in 1870 17.67, and in 1890 22.87.

These facts show clearly that the increase in the proportion of people employed to the whole number of people is found in the numbers engaged in the skilled trades and in semi-professional callings. Hence the inevitable conclusion that the ranks of skilled labour, which are constantly being increased, are drawing from the ranks of unskilled labour; for the proportion of common labour of every kind — labour which demands simply the application of muscle with very little use of tools — remains nearly stationary, so far as numbers are concerned.

Another proof in the same direction comes from the usual object of machines, to perform the operations of common unskilled labour; but the effect of machinery is positive as well as negative; it necessitates not only the greatest care in pres-

ervation, but also in operation; so a man who is intelligent enough to run one machine is usually intelligent enough to learn quickly how to operate another in some other industry. Unskilled and ignorant labour cannot make such sudden turns. Here is seen the beneficent results of the introduction of power machinery.

137. Does the Use of Machinery degrade Labour?

This position in large degree destroys the commonly accepted view that the use of machinery degrades the individual intellect and that under such use the mechanic is deteriorating.[1] Many writers, from Adam Smith down, accept the idea that in making small parts of large machines, as in making small articles, there is a stupefying effect not experienced in making whole things. Very true, if the man who has been making whole things is set to work upon small parts; the fact is the man who makes the small parts or the small articles, and is thus subjected to what is called the "terrible monotony of machine occupation," is not the man who is capable of making whole things, but is a man who has been lifted out of some more monotonous calling, and by machinery promoted to labour which calls for the exercise of some intellect. The use of machinery compels sobriety on the part of the operative; there has been no more powerful or effective temperance worker than the machine. The testimony in this direction is most gratifying. The life and limb of a man with a muddled brain are in danger in the presence of machinery, while the damage done to the works by habitual drunkards undertaking to manage them of necessity compels the employer to engage men who come to their employment with clear heads. Machinery does not degrade labour, but elevates it.

138. Machinery and New Industries.

The greatest increase in the employment of people at advanced wages is to be found in those industries where the

[1] See "Employment," under Chapter XIII. above.

highest grades of machines have been introduced. Machines not only create new demands in old lines, they also create occupations that never existed prior to their introduction. Thousands of people are employed in telegraphy, where not a single individual has been displaced. These thousands find remunerative employment in the construction of telegraph lines, the manufacture of instruments, and the operation of lines. The telephone has added to this accumulation, while the whole field of electrical appliances has provided for the employment of armies of skilled workers, and the employments known in the past have not been trenched upon. Electro-plating, as a subdivision of the application of electricity, has brought remunerative and congenial employment to many thousands of people.

If we look at the introduction of railroads the same general result is to be seen. The railroads of the country employ in their operation more than three quarters of a million people. When we look at the construction of road-beds, of rolling stock, and all the necessary equipment for convenient and commodious travel, it is certain on reflection that new occupations have been offered to vast numbers of wage-receivers. The results of the invention of water-proof clothing, sewing-machines, printing devices, of inventions in innumerable directions, have more than offset by expansion any displacement of labour that can be shown in other directions.

A few years ago, on the opening of the electric line between Minneapolis and St. Paul, by which people could have a service every few minutes between the two cities, complaint was made that it had practically thrown out of employment the brakemen and other hands employed on the steam railway. On inquiry it was admitted that under the old steam-road régime the trains were not very frequent between the two cities, and that only six or eight people were practically injured by the new order of things, while sixty-five men were required to run the electric cars which displaced the former trains.

Indeed, rapid transit in our great cities has been instrumen-

tal in bringing a vast number of well-informed men into active employment; a low-grade man cannot run an electric car; he must have intelligence enough to understand and comprehend the methods necessary for the propulsion of the cars, and as an intelligent being he is vastly superior to the man required to drive the horses of an ordinary street-car.

Another recent invention that has aroused agitation and contention in labour circles is the linotype machine. Fortunately for society at large, the compositors are a very intelligent body of men. Their work is regulated by the Typographical Union. When the linotype machine was first introduced successfully, the compositors felt some apprehension that their occupation would be seriously injured, and many men permanently thrown out of employment. Many men were thrown out of employment, but the testimony of officers of the Typographical Union, publishers, and newspaper managers is that at the present time there are, in all probability, as many men employed in setting type, either by the old methods or by the new, as before the linotype was introduced. The conclusion is perfectly rational that a very few years will see a large relative increase in compositors. The great demand for reading matter of all grades necessitated the introduction of new methods; for instance, the managers of every political campaign and of all parties depend now upon vast quantities of reading matter. The committees of the two great political parties during the presidential campaign of 1896 actually sent out nearly two hundred million copies of documents. The stump still holds its place, but the printing-press does the work of conversion from one political position to another. The dissemination of knowledge means the expansion of all printing devices or methods by which the knowledge can be carried to the individual. The farmers and mechanics of our country are readers of daily papers, — more, they are readers of literary magazines, of art journals, — and the supply of all the matter at low cost is a necessity which can be met only by invention. One magazine has reached the enormous circulation of nearly

nine hundred thousand copies per month. Under the old methods this would have been a physical impossibility. The enormous editions of the great dailies could never have been reached without the employment of the power-press, whose limitations seem to have no bounds. The latest capacity of the modern printing-press is ninety-six thousand eight-page papers in one hour. To do the presswork alone for this number of papers would take, on the old plan, a man and a boy, working ten hours a day, one hundred and forty days. The knowledge that is now demanded could not be obtained without the new devices, and the number of men employed in manufacturing machines, in making the paper necessary for such enormous editions, and in the distribution of the papers, together with the news-agents everywhere, is probably so large that no real displacement has taken place.

So for every fact which can be brought to bear upon the question to show that machines have deprived men of labour, another fact can be referred to which will prove that more men have been supplied with labour than have been deprived of it. Every impartial investigation of the subject has proved this.

There has been no debasement of humanity by the substitution of machinery for human labour, and there is no danger in such substitution. Machinery has not helped to create new and tremendous inequalities of society, or turned thousands into tramps and vagabonds, or hardened the natural selfishness of men in any way, as often asserted. It has at times been a hardship, for it has created new relationships in life. It has changed the old individual relations of the employer and the employee to the corporate relation; but it is now forcing men to the conclusion that moral attributes are just as powerful, and the application of moral principles just as feasible, under the new corporate as under the old individual relations. It has been the means of reducing the work-day from twelve or fourteen hours to nine or ten hours, and the inevitable result will be still further reduction in the time necessary for the

earning of a living. It has not only shortened the work-day; it has also increased the remuneration per hour.

These influences have been going on until there has been established a new law of production, which is that the employment of machinery necessitates, as a rule, a larger outlay of capital for the production of a given unit; that the profit to capital on this unit is decreasing; that the reward to labour for the same unit has increased; and that the cost to the consumer has decreased.

Most machinery is expensive, and a works well equipped with the very best appliances finds itself obliged, when new processes are invented and new mechanical devices brought into existence, to sell its old machines for old iron. Labour must then replace it all, and so the evolution of invention goes on, ever widening the opportunities for employment, ever shortening the work-day, ever increasing the reward to labour, and ever bringing a larger proportion of the whole population into employment. In reaching this conclusion, which is substantially supported by actual facts, no consideration has been given to speculative periods or periods of depression; only the general tendency from one decade to another can be legitimately considered.

139. The Saving of Human Labour by Machinery.

The question is often asked, What is the equivalent in man's labour of the machines used in production and in other ways? On this subject there are many wild off-hand estimates, which have somehow secured recognition in papers and lectures; for instance, the assertion that the machinery of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is equal to the labour of fifty million men, and that of Great Britain to the labour of seven hundred million men. A few years ago an attempt was made at calculations along these lines,[1] by which it was shown that the mechanical industries of the United States were carried on by steam and water power, representing, in round numbers,

[1] United States Tenth Census (1880).

3,500,000 horse-power,[1] each horse-power equalling the muscular labour of six men ; that is to say, if men had been employed to furnish the power to carry on the industries of this country, it would have required 21,000,000 men, and 21,000,000 men represent a population, according to the ratio of the census of 1880, of 105,000,000; but the industries in that year were carried on by 4,000,000 persons, in round numbers, representing a population of 20,000,000 only. There were in the United States at the time of the calculation referred to 28,600 locomotives. To have done the work of the locomotives upon the common roads of the country there would have been required, in round numbers, 54,000,000 horses and 13,500,000 men. The work was done, so far as men are concerned, by 250,000, representing a population of 1,250,000, while the population required for the number of men necessary to have done the work with horses would have been 67,500,000. To have done the work, then, accomplished by power and power machinery in our mechanical industries and upon our railroads there would have been required men representing a population of 172,500,000, in addition to the population of the country at that time.

In Massachusetts, in 1875, when a similar calculation was made, it was found that the total horse-power of steam-engines and water-wheels employed in the industries of the State was equal to the hand labour of 1,912,608 men. The labour was actually performed, with the aid of motive-power, by about 300,000 men, women, and children.

These statements, while somewhat fanciful, show the extreme straits to which a country would be brought if it undertook to perform its work in the old way. The figures are interesting only because the conditions necessary to replace machinery

[1] These calculations as to the horse and man power necessary to perform the work of the railroads of the country are based upon a very careful estimate from trustworthy data made by Hon. Edward Appleton, a well-known civil engineer, late of the Massachusetts Board of Railroad Commissioners. Mr. Appleton's calculations have been substantially corroborated by others through independent estimates. His basis has simply been projected to cover the United States.

are utterly impossible, but the discussion shows the enormous benefits gained by the people at large through the application of improved motive-power.

140. The Inspection of Factories and Workshops.

The use of machinery has necessitated the systematic regulation and inspection of factories and workshops, as a consequence of laws regulating the conditions under which work shall be carried on. Naturally such legislation was first resorted to in England, where the factory system had its birth; the first bills even were brought into Parliament by Sir Robert Peel, himself a great textile manufacturer. From that time on there have been few Parliaments in which bills have not been introduced providing for some regulation or for the amendment of laws already enacted. The great body of factory laws in England, as now codified, furnish a model for the world. They have been copied, so far as conditions warranted, in this country, which followed England in the establishment of the factory system, and to some extent in the countries on the continent where the system has obtained a lodgment.

First in order come the legal regulations relating to the construction of factory buildings, with requirements as to the use of fire-resisting materials and fire-escapes; then come the hygiene and sanitary condition of factories, their proper ventilation, heating, and lighting; the safety of workmen has been observed by the inspection of steam-boilers, the examination of engineers and firemen, and the inspection of mines. In some of the States, as a direct result of the benefits of providing for the safety of persons employed in great productive establishments, the principle has been extended to include public buildings, schoolhouses, churches, hotels, theatres, etc.

The laws are not the same in all the States enacting them, the character of the industries carried on within a particular State indicating the extent to which law should be applied. The whole subject is of recent development in this country, Massachusetts being the first State to take up the English meth-

ods by a law providing for the inspection of factories in 1877. At present, fourteen States out of forty-five have laws relating to the inspection of factories and workshops, most of them formulated on parts of the Massachusetts laws, though no other State goes so far as Massachusetts. The duties of the twenty-six officers exclusively employed in the inspection department of that State will best illustrate this whole subject, but not even the detailed reports of the several inspectors made to the chief of this force can give, to those not familiar with the matters discussed, an adequate idea of the vast amount of its labours. The inspectors' duties embrace the enforcement of the laws relating to the hours of labour; the protection of operatives from unguarded machinery; the employment of women and minors; the schooling of children employed in factories and workshops; the preservation of the health of females employed in mechanical, manufacturing, and mercantile establishments; reports of accidents in manufactories; safety appliances for elevators; provisions for escape from hotels and other buildings in case of fire; proper ventilation for factories and workshops, and uniform meal hours for children, young persons, and women employed therein; the suppression of nuisances from drains, and provision for water-closets, etc., for the use of each sex employed in factories and workshops, and various other sanitary regulations; the inspection of buildings alleged to be unsafe or dangerous to life or limb, in case of fire or otherwise; the submission to the inspector for approval of a copy of plans and specifications of any building designed for certain public purposes, as factory, workshop, mercantile structure, hotels, apartment houses, lodging or tenement houses, above a certain height; communication between engineer's room and each room where machinery is run by steam, in every manufacturing establishment; proper safeguards at hatchways, elevator openings, and well-holes in public buildings, factories, and mercantile establishments; forbidding the use of portable seats in aisles or passageways in public halls, theatres, schoolhouses, churches, and public buildings during any service held therein;

requiring fire-resisting curtains, approved by inspectors for use in all theatres, etc.; competent watchmen, lights in hotels, gongs or other proper alarms, and notices posted describing the means of escape from fire in boarding and lodging houses above a fixed size, and in family and public hotels; fire escapes on tenement or lodging houses three or more stories in height; prohibiting during working hours the locking of any inside or outside door of any building where operatives are employed; cleanliness, suitable ventilation, and sanitary conveniences of public buildings and schools; the weekly payment of wages by certain corporations to each of their employees; the inspection of uninsured steam-boilers; the examination as to the competency of engineers and firemen in charge thereof; the enforcement of the act relating to the manufacture and sale of clothing made in unhealthy places; the enforcement of the act relative to the heating of street-railway cars, and of the act requiring specifications to be furnished to persons employed in cotton, worsted, and woollen factories.

The inspectors of the States having such officers have held an annual convention since 1887, known as the International Association of Factory Inspectors. This organisation, though created as the result of private efforts, has in a certain sense an official standing, for it aims to bring together all officers of the State governments and of Canada whose duties relate to the inspection of factories, workshops, and public buildings. The report of the proceedings and the papers read at the conventions are not only separately published, but are frequently included as appendices to the report of the inspectors of individual States.

The beneficent results of the work of the inspectors is seen here, as in England and in other countries, in the improved condition of the factories and workshops in which people are required to spend a large amount of their time. In some localities their hygienic and sanitary conditions are vastly superior to those of the homes in which the operatives sleep. Law has not yet reached these homes, except through efforts

to modify the evils of the sweating system and to regulate tenement houses. Ultimately laws must be made for the proper inspection of living places the conditions of which may be favourable to the origin of contagious diseases.

141. Employers' Liability.

Very naturally, while legislatures have been active in securing better conditions in industrial establishments, they have also sought to change the customs growing up under common law relative to the liability of the owners of machinery to those who operate it. One of the most marked instances of this extension of the powers of the legislature has been in reversing or modifying common-law practice. Under the common law as it exists in England and America, and under modified Roman law in the greater part of the continent of Europe, it is the general rule, subject to modifications under special circumstances, that the principal is responsible for the acts of his agents, exactly as if he performed the acts himself. We will not even inquire into the justice of the rule, but under it a person injured or aggrieved by the agent of another has his remedy against the principal; or, as the language of the law puts it, a person injured by the servant can recover of the master. Curiously enough, this rule ordinarily does not apply where the person injured by the agent or employee of another is also an agent or employee of the same principal; that is, B and C, employees of A, cannot recover of the proprietor A if one of them is hurt or injured through the carelessness or negligence of his co-employee, though he might recover of A if to him (A) was due the carelessness or negligence; even in this case the employee may lose his claim if "contributory negligence" can be shown against him. It is usually assumed, under the common-law rule, that the employee engages in the service of a company or of an individual employer with a full knowledge of all the risks, dangers, and responsibilities of the peculiar employment, and therefore assumes all ordinary risks inseparable from the business and such as may be reasonably

known or assumed; but the responsibility of the employee does not apply under circumstances where the risk is known to the employer but not to the employee, nor where the employer is under a positive duty and the injury results from neglect of that duty.

The whole subject offers many opportunities for fine legal distinctions and the application of what may be called the philosophy of law, and any specific case would bristle with exceptions, limitations, and restrictions of the principle. The most important limitation is that which prevents the employee on railroads or in large establishments from recovery as against the employer when the employee is injured through the negligence or carelessness of a co-employee. This limitation is a growth of recent years, and is what is ordinarily denominated "judge-made law;" it is the result of rulings of courts in various places, and not of statutory provision.

The principle has a good deal of reason in it, under certain restricted circumstances; but when broadly applied it appears to many to be so inconsistent that legislatures are beginning to restrict the common-law rule by positive statutes. Under the former system of industry, before the congregation of labour in great factories, where the employee worked alongside his fellow-employees and with the employer himself, the doctrine of "co-employment" had weight; but how can such a rule be applied to a brakeman, on a line hundreds of miles in length, who suffers by the negligence of a switchman whom he never saw, whose character he did not know when he entered the service, and to whose negligence he could not possibly have contributed? The brakeman cannot, under the rule, recover damages from the railroad corporation because the brakeman and the switchman are considered co-employees of the same principal. So in a factory, the attendant of a loom may be quietly and industriously attending to her business as a weaver, and through the negligence or carelessness or drunkenness of one who attends the engine in the engine-house a

thousand feet away, loses an arm; under these circumstances the weaver cannot recover damages from the proprietors or owners of the factory.

142. Legislation affecting the Employer's Liability.

In order to remedy the difficulty, recourse has been had to statutory provisions, by which the common-law rule is abrogated or its application limited. The first attempt at such limitation was by the Parliament of Great Britain. After long agitation, investigations by parliamentary committees, and discussions in Parliament, a law in great measure abrogating the common-law rule was enacted in 1880, and provided that where personal injury is caused to a workman —

(1) By reason of any defect in the condition of ways, works, machinery, or plant, connected with or used in the business of the employer; or

(2) By reason of the negligence of any person in the service of the employer, who has any superintendence intrusted to him, whilst in the exercise of such superintendence; or

(3) By reason of the negligence of any person in the service of the employer, to whose orders or directions the workman, at the time of the injury, was bound to conform, and did conform, where such injury resulted from his having so conformed; or

(4) By reason of the act or omission of any person in the service of the employer, done or made in obedience to the rules or by-laws of the employer, or in obedience to particular instructions given by any person delegated with the authority of the employer in that behalf; or

(5) By reason of the negligence of any person in the service of the employer who has the charge or control of any signal, points, locomotive engine, or train upon a railway —

The workman, or, in case the injury results in death, the legal personal representatives of the workman, and any persons entitled in case of death, shall have the same right of compensation and remedies against the employer as if the workman

had not been a workman of nor in the service of the employer, nor engaged in his work.

When this English act passed, the attention of employers and employees everywhere was called to the inconsistencies of the common-law rule. Many corporations resisted the enactment of laws which would tend, as they claimed, to the great increase of the expenses of running their works or roads. Much fear was expressed on the passage of the bill through Parliament that the results would be disastrous to industry and prevent dividends on the stock of railroads. The experience under the law, however, has not substantiated these fears, and one of its best effects has been to induce greater care in the selection of agents. Perhaps this is the very greatest benefit that can be derived from such a statute. The careful administration of railroad service is one of the most vital features, so far as the public is concerned, and if the law stimulates the selection of the very best skill in the employment of men, it justifies its enactment. Certainly the financial disasters predicted have not occurred.

All the agitation on this subject reappeared in the United States, although the first law which followed the English legislation was quietly passed by the Alabama legislature February 12, 1885. The real agitation, which was imported from Great Britain, first appeared, so far as labour organisations, employees, and employers were concerned, in Massachusetts about 1882, when the whole subject was brought to the basis of a few simple questions: Ought employees to have the same right to recover damages for personal injuries that all others have? Should the rule of law which forbids employees from recovering damages from their employers for injuries caused by the negligence of fellow-employees, and without their own contributory negligence, be changed? Should they be allowed for similar injuries, from the same cause, the same right to damages from their employers that the rest of the world has? If — by way of illustration — an accident should occur on a railroad train, should a brakeman have the same right to sue for damages that a

passenger has? If a brakeman's arm should be broken through the carelessness of a switchman or a tender, should he possess the same right that a passenger would have for a similar injury?

In 1887 the Massachusetts legislature enacted a law somewhat similar to the English statute, but much simpler in its construction. All the arguments which had been brought against the bill in the British Parliament have been forcibly arrayed against the passage of bills in this country. Notwithstanding all these objections, there are many railroad men, either in the administrative forces or in the law departments, who have seen plainly that such a law can work no serious injury to the interests of the country, but, on the other hand, will conserve the safety of the public and insure the highest order of intelligence in the great body of railway employees. Here, as in England, the fears of financial embarrassment or of entailing expense on employers have not been realised.

The principle of the new law applies under certain conditions to employees in factories and workshops. Other States have followed the example of Alabama and Massachusetts, and have modified in some sense, or to some extent weakened, the force of the old rule. When it was found that employers were putting a pressure on their employees to agree to contracts depriving themselves of the rights secured by the acts, new legislation was found necessary to prevent the defeat of the whole purpose of the statutes. So every attempt to modify common-law rule by a statutory provision results in complications, but these complications are simplified as experience dictates.

143. Compulsory Insurance of Workingmen.

If there is a subject within the whole range of social economics which relates to means for promoting the material, social, intellectual, and moral prosperity of labouring men and women, it is that which deals with what is called the "economic insecurity" attending the prosecution of great industries. The

governments of Europe have striven to find specific remedies. Various and complicated methods of charity have been resorted to, but, as a rule, with the result of only perpetuating the difficulties and evils sought to be cured. The German government has with great courage put into active practice the system of compulsory insurance against sickness, accidents, and the infirmities of age. The theory upon which that government has acted has been ethical as well as economical in its principles. The example of Germany is being followed by other nations, and where positive enactment has not resulted from the influence of Germany's laws, the discussion has been taken up by some of the best thinkers of the nations involved. In Great Britain the whole matter has appeared in the programs of different parties, and much interest has been taken in the subject. In this country the question of compulsory insurance has not been much agitated, but it is a subject which sooner or later will demand the attention of legislators.

In brief, the system is to ally the government with employers in insuring wage-receivers against sickness, accidents, and the infirmities of age, a certain proportion of the expense being paid by the insured, another portion by the employer, and the balance by the government. The machinery necessary for properly carrying out such a system must, of course, be expensive and complicated. The experience of Germany and other countries that have tried the experiment will be watched in this country with increasing interest, for the presence of the unemployed, the severity of competition, and the increasing principle of altruism will ultimately demand that industry shall bear the expense of providing for those who have assisted in its conduct and development.

CHAPTER XV.

RELATIONS OF EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE.

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145. Personal Relations.

From what has been said in the preceding chapter it will be readily seen that there has been a change in the relations of the employer and the employee, due to the existing labour system. Whatever advantages the employee has gained in the way of improved economic conditions through increase in earnings and the power to secure more of the comforts and luxuries of life, in intellectual development, and in many

other directions, have been to some extent at the expense of the direct personal relations existing under the old system, when the employer and the employee worked side by side, when the apprentice and the journeyman were, if not actual members of the employer's household, at least his associates in the workshop. The character of the home under the modern system has been changed for the better; house and family conditions have been vastly improved, but that direct personal contact of the employer and the employee through which ethical conditions existed has been lost through the aggregated system of production. It is a mistake, however, to conclude that this old relation does not exist at present in any degree, for while corporations have very largely taken the place of individual enterprises, and the manager of assembled capital — that is, capital derived from various sources and concentrated in the hands of a corporation — is the recognised representative with whom employees must deal, there is, on the other hand, still a very great amount of work done through the old individual method by firms and individual proprietors. In the latter case large bodies of employees must deal with the individual proprietor, the same as in the case of corporations they must deal with the manager; but when dealing with the individual owner, as in some of our large productive establishments, they are dealing with a man responsible for his capital and desirous of securing the very best ethical relations with his people. The manager is a representative, and has not the same personal moral responsibility that the individual owner possesses.

These conditions necessitate organisation not only of capitalists but of employees. Corporate existence is met by organised labour. There is no other way at present, and it is the true way; but even the true way involves on each side the most careful consideration of the rights and privileges of the other. There must be leadership in modern industry, but in both directions, — leadership of the forces of capital and leadership of the forces of labour. We must abandon the

old idea that the interests of labour and capital are identical; like the interests of buyer and seller, they are reciprocal, not identical. Both employer and employee must do something which will help the other, and each must recognise that neither can exist without the existence and efforts of the other. These relations are necessarily complicated, and the endeavour to adjust them is what leads to labour controversies.

In almost all large enterprises the supervision of workmen must be delegated to hired superintendents. This of itself leads to friction, and to what is perhaps the chief cause of our modern labour troubles, — an attitude of suspicion. A great corporation, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of competition, seeking to push its products in the different markets, making its goods, perhaps, with labour which by combination has kept its wages higher than is paid by competitors, and, in addition, working under the necessity of paying a dividend to the multitude of stockholders, — such a corporation feels that it must recognise only the profit to be gained for capital; yet it represents oftentimes hundreds or thousands of stockholders who have no personal knowledge whatever of the conditions of production or of the necessities attending it. The employees, on the other hand, imbued with all the ambitions of men, justly seek the enhancement of their own welfare, and hence they resent every effort to reduce their wages or to increase their productive capacity at the expense of their physical well-being. Organisation, then, comes in conflict with organisation, and thus difficulties arise.

Whatever fundamental principles may be lost sight of, no employer who is himself seeking the increase of his income or the stability of the dividends paid to the stockholders of a corporation can reject as unreasonable or unjust the desire of the employee to increase his income. It is beginning to be recognised that when a reduction in the earnings of the employee seems necessary, he has just as much right to be informed of the conditions requiring such a change as the stockholder has to be informed of the conditions which necessitate a reduction or

a passing of a dividend, for the employee jeopardises in the joint enterprise his only capital — his capacity to work and his day's labour — as much as the capitalist jeopardises his accumulations invested in the same enterprise. Each is interested in preserving stable conditions of production, so that the rewards of each may be kept stable or increased. This involves the whole ethical relation of employer and employee, so far as the conditions of production are concerned, but it leads to that suspicious attitude of which mention has been made; for the employer often attempts to reduce wages while withholding the reasons for such action, on the broad statement that profits will not admit of the further payment of the nominal wages. When the employee submits to this action on the promise that wages will be restored with the return of prosperous economic conditions, he too often finds he is obliged to demand the return, and when the demand is not acceded to, to take measures to compel the employer to increase wages. After one or two experiences of this kind the employees combine to resist a reduction, no matter what the reasons are that necessitate such action.

146. Relations with Unions.

These conditions bring about relations between employers and labour unions. Such unions in themselves are not new elements in industry, for they have existed in some form under all systems of labour, and their existence can be traced far back in history. Their greatest development has been seen in Great Britain, but wherever the factory system is now in vogue there will be found active labour unions organised for the purpose of protecting the interests of the employees. Although they have been extended to include clerks, workers in mines, stevedores, and, in fact, almost every class of labour, they embrace as yet only from ten to fifteen per cent of those engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries, while in agricultural labour they are hardly known. Their peculiar features, platforms, and aims have been outlined in Chapter V.

In England the unions have great power, and usually possess treasuries of no mean proportions. They use their money in supporting their members when out of work, in protecting them in their controversies, in spreading their doctrines, and in general for the advancement of their aims. They are responsible bodies in a certain sense; that is, responsible to employers when they insist upon the rejection of incapable employees and volunteer to replace such with competent men. In some trades should such action result in loss or damage, the union would be bound to make it good to the employer.

The unions have been generally approved by English leaders of industry. Corporations and individual concerns co-operate with them more largely than in this or in any other country. English employers recognise that unions are to continue, and that by co-operating with them greater stability in the conditions of production can be secured, and that the interest of the producer in sustaining wages is clearly apparent, for with the stability of wages there is to be found corresponding stability in prices. Thus the unions are a factor in economic production.

In this country there has not been the same development nor the same cordial relations between employers and unions, although in some trades unions are recognised as necessary, and there is little opposition to them as such. It is when unions are aggressive and take a part in strikes which the employer thinks ought not to have been entered upon, or take some action which involves the economic condition of production itself, that they are opposed. The public recognises the necessity and the advisability of labour unions, but public opinion is against the union dominating employment. Such opinion does not recognise the right of the union to declare that non-union men shall not be employed, and certainly is strongly opposed to any active measures to prevent the employment of non-union men.

Unions ought to be legally incorporated, and they have much to gain by such incorporation, as will be seen when the

subject of injunction is discussed. Although the laws of several States and of the Federal government have provided for the incorporation of labour unions, in all probability there is not a single instance of such incorporation in the history of labour in this country.

What labour unions need more than any other one thing in this country is able leadership, free from political ambitions, with the purpose to protect the best interests of workingmen themselves. Another thing which is of vital importance is harmonious action; with various bodies of employees organised on different bases, and under different leaders, there has always existed great antagonism, resulting in a lack of harmony of purpose or of action. This has prevented labour from securing that public recognition which comes from dignified and able leadership. Of course, when speaking of unions, all labour organisations are included, without reference to their peculiar and distinctive characteristics, and it must be remembered that some of the bodies have men of wide intelligence, knowledge of production, and the personal characteristics which belong to leadership, and that the time will come when such men will be able to unify the interests of labour, and deal with the representatives of capital on a statesmanlike basis. Until that time comes, there is much to be learned by either side.

Unions very naturally copy the methods of employers, whether corporate or individual, but without the skill and experience essential to their successful application. Some of them, as instanced in the work of the great railroad brotherhoods, are approaching a condition under which the real force and philosophy of industry is recognised, and are gaining an intelligence which will enable them to overcome the conditions which arise from the lack of knowledge of production. They have intelligence enough now to understand their rights; they have desires, which have grown through education, for a higher standard of living; they know what they want. These things lead to demands, — the demands of increased intelligence, — and they must be considered; but they have not

yet acquired intelligence enough to secure the results on a large scale and permanently, or to avoid the controversies which accompany their demands. They are rapidly acquiring the knowledge which will enable them to meet the experience and the intelligence of employers on an equal footing, under which differences will be adjusted on a just and equitable basis.

147. Co-operation.

Co-operation has been resorted to in two forms, — the production of goods and their distribution. For natural and inevitable reasons, co-operative production has not been a great success. The ordinary crude, popular conception of co-operation is that it enables the producer to get rid of the employer and the wage system. The workers are supposed to employ a manager subject to their will, and, if necessary, to hire capital at usual rates of interest. Then, pooling their services, they are to divide among themselves whatever profit there may be after fixed charges are paid.

This scheme is purely visionary and utterly impracticable. First, under it, the worker must wait till the last for the profits which may come to him in the place of wages, and if no profit comes his labour has gone for naught; on the other hand, the management, as a rule, receives its share in salary at the outset. In the second place, a score of men, operating on the simple basis of each doing a full day's work on some kind of production, cannot make such co-operation a success, because some out of the score will find themselves doing more than others, while those who produce less receive the same amount of profits. Human nature, individual development, skill, ambition, are opposed to such co-operation. The advantage the present system has over simple co-operative production is that wages are paid from the outset, and management waits for its compensation till the goods are sold and the books balanced. These fundamental difficulties prevent simple co-operation from being considered seriously as a remedy for industrial depressions or for labour troubles. Workers must be guaran-

teed something, to be paid at frequent intervals, and the only party that can so guarantee is the capitalist employer, who alone can run risks and wait indefinitely for rewards. The capitalist employer may be an association of the workers themselves; but it is none the less an employer, a moral personality, possessing all the powers over individual workers that an individual employer would have. The more efficient and prosperous members become inevitably the controlling power in the association, and they will not consent to divide profits irrespective of the value of services, or to guarantee employment to inefficient members. The valid idea in this crude conception of co-operation is that in the degree that workmen develop the necessary qualifications and acquire the requisite capital they may become self-employers, and that, whether as self-employers or otherwise, they should as workers participate in the profits of industry in proportion to their efficiency. This ideal is in process of realisation through various forms of co-operative organisation and profit-sharing. Industrial partnership instituted by capitalist employers, and co-operation instituted by capital-owning workmen, work toward the same result from different directions. Each has its own proper field, and each will probably acquire increasing prominence in social economy.

Co-operative distribution is quite another matter. It is not co-operation purely; it is the distribution of goods by an organisation whose members participate in the profits. It is often suggested as at least a partial remedy for some of the bad conditions which accompany employment; but it is only a half-measure, because the method is organised, economised, and made effective for consumers almost entirely, and producers as such are not materially benefited. Such has been the case in England, where the Rochdale system has been carried to such magnificent proportions; the societies, as purchasers, keenly appreciate and follow the rule adopted by the private trader, of buying at the lowest possible competition prices, and in their transactions with producers make use

of the same expedients as those employed in private trade to drive good bargains and thus swell profits for the benefit of their customers. The maxim that "goods well bought are half sold" is kept constantly in view, and the importance of keen and shrewd buying is so well understood that employees possessing the requisite ability in this direction are highly prized and liberally paid. To the producer, therefore, the system of co-operative distribution offers no special advantages; on the other hand, it tends to lower prices, and in so far as this is the result depression is aided, so that the work or progress resulting from co-operative distribution may react against consumers so far as they are producers; and the attempt to remove the middleman from the channels of trade fails. The English co-operative stores pay competition prices and control the manufacture of goods at the lowest possible labour cost, but the workmen, unless members of a co-operative store, can have no share in the profits. Illingworth, in "Distribution Reform," says: —

"The co-operative wholesale society is a gigantic middleman; in its workshops it pays the lowest competition wages; in the language of one of the workers in one of the shoe factories, 'the workmen have to work for what they can get; they know there is no true co-operation.' In its transactions with other producers it pays the lowest of competition prices; the profits made out of the retail prices are distributed amongst the members; labour is depressed. In short, it is as far from displaying a single feature of real co-operation as any private trader is who uses the weapons of competition and capitalism for his personal ends, regardless of the interests of others.

"The co-operative labour association, whose principal object is to recognise the combined interests of capital and labour in productive enterprise, is largely composed of members of the co-operative movement. In a conference just held, a resolution was passed asking 'the committee of the labour association to point out in a fraternal spirit to the wholesale co-operative society the grave injury they are doing to the cause of co-operation by their failure to carry out co-operative principles in their productive works, and to offer their services in placing the wholesale workshops upon a true co-operative basis.'"

So far, then, as relates to removing the evils which it is alleged spring from competition in the distribution of supplies, co-operative societies in England have not yet succeeded; nor have they failed. The system as yet has gone but a little way; all that is proved is that co-operative distribution without the alliance of co-operative production in some form is only a half-measure as a remedy for defective distribution.

In this country many organisations devoted to co-operative distribution have not yet made much impression. The difficulty generally lies in the management. If good, practical business men can be secured to manage a co-operative store, success is bound to attend the undertaking, but there must be something besides; there must be loyalty to the cause and something of self-sacrifice, for co-operators do not pay large salaries, and a good manager of a co-operative store with success is generally sought for by other business houses. The failure of many experiments in this country has been caused by the want of good business managers on the one hand, and, on the other, by the feeling of consumers that they do not care to take the burdens and risks of being their own grocerymen. They prefer to pay a little more, and avoid all the annoyance which comes to the dealer. In some of our cities there are club organisations that work successfully, but their make-up is a combination of the ordinary store with co-operative features attached.

The most successful field has been found in large universities, where there is a special constituency, and a great demand for certain simple staples, such as books, stationery, fuel, and sporting goods.

When consumers can combine and faithfully live up to the principles of co-operation, they are under a very powerful educational influence, which stimulates their moral characters and urges them to good business methods. It would be better for every community if it could adopt in its business relations the principles of co-operation, whether in production or in distribution. As a partial remedial agent in the attempts

to solve labour problems, co-operative distribution, when successful, has always proved to be influential. But it is an incomplete relationship; to be complete it must include not only co-operative production but profit-sharing.

148. Profit-sharing.

Many benevolent employers have endeavoured to secure pleasant and harmonious relations with employees through a system which goes under various names, — gain-sharing, division of earnings, etc., — but is usually known as profit-sharing. The principle is that of giving the employees a money interest in increasing the profits of the business. It comprehends the essential benefit of co-operation applied to the production of goods, and avoids the difficulties which, as we have seen, prevent simple, pure co-operation from succeeding when applied to manufacturing.

One form is what is known as industrial co-partnership, which offers a practical way of producing goods on a basis just to capital and labour, and brings out the best moral elements of the capitalist and the workman. This system has been tried many times, and usually with success. Among the numerous experiments in Europe is the system adopted by Leclaire, a Parisian house-painter, who was the first to give it practical illustration. In the United States but little has been done in this direction, but wherever the principle has been tried there have been three grand results: labour has received a more liberal share for its skill, capital has been better remunerated, and the moral tone of the whole community involved has been raised. Employment has been steadier and more sure, for the interest of all has been given for the general welfare. Each man feels himself more a man. The employer looks upon his employee in the true light, as associates. Conflict ceases, and harmony takes the place of disturbance.

Though sometimes the experiments in profit-sharing have been abandoned, so long as they have existed no strikes have

occurred and no labour troubles have been experienced. This feature, as a suggested remedy for industrial depressions and for industrial warfare, has much in it of hope for the future, and yet it cannot be considered as a complete solution of all the difficulties which labour encounters. It has in it, however, the power of reducing the conflicts, softening the struggles, and making men better.

The ordinary foundation of the system is as follows: the proprietor receives for the capital he invests the ruling rate of interest, as part of the legitimate expense of production; he also puts in as his share, other than capital, his managerial skill, his business accomplishments, and his knowledge of the industry in which he is engaged. The men who work for him receive for their time and for the ordinary display of the skill required the ordinary rate of wage; the workman also contributes his liveliest interest, his best skill, and the care of tools and materials. It is conceded that the skilled management of the proprietor and his liability for the risks of the establishment entitle him to the larger share of profits, while the workmen, whose only risk is loss of employment, are entitled to the smaller share; but the two parties amicably arrange for a division of profits on some just and equitable basis.

This compound system, simple in itself, humane in all its bearings, just in every respect to all the parties concerned, combines what is good in the wages system with what is good in co-operation as applied to production, and is becoming a necessity. Under it the workman receives a greater share than has hitherto been accorded to him, on account of the improvements in machinery; he becomes a part of the individuality of the establishment; he is lifted to a higher scale; his intelligence, his moral character, have weight in the establishment in proportion to his interest in it, and the whole concern has a better chance for prosperity, for weathering industrial storms, and for general happiness, than under the present wage system alone. There is reason to believe that the proprietors of many influential manufacturing establishments in this country are

contemplating the organisation of their establishments upon this basis, because they see the success of the enterprises where this system already has been adopted, and are glad to follow in so just a path.

An indirect method of sharing profits is through benefits of various kinds, as insurance, schools, libraries, and beautiful surroundings, where such are maintained by employers out of their profits and enjoyed by employees as an addition to what their wages would purchase. A striking example is the beauty of the manufacturing town of South Manchester, Connecticut, a beauty due to the joint efforts of the great firm of Cheney Brothers and the operatives in their silk factory. Such participation helps to preserve the stability of labour, and has been offered to workmen by many proprietors and in different countries. The erection of healthful residences, which are rented to operatives at a low per cent on cost, has been resorted to in many places. This is true of great productive establishments like the works of Herr Krupp, at Essen, in Rhenish Prussia; of several establishments at Mulhausen; of Saltaire, founded by Sir Titus Salt, in Yorkshire, England; of the efforts of Fairbanks Brothers, at Saint Johnsbury, Vermont; of the Ludlow Company, in Massachusetts, and of the linen works at Willimantic, Connecticut. All such undertakings improve the surroundings of the workman, and he secures indirectly a participation in the profits of production outside and beyond his wages; yet these are not experiments at profit-sharing, as such, but they lead to profit-sharing, and surely indicate the results which may accrue when the principle is carried to a greater extent.

Many peculiar institutions illustrative of this idea may be found in Belgium, especially in the coal, iron, and woollen districts. Most of these are voluntary in their origin, except the "Caisse de Prévoyance en Faveur des Ouvriers Mineurs," which is obligatory upon every one receiving a mining concession. The object of this and of the numerous "Caisses particulières de Sécours" is to set aside a sum equal to a certain per cent

(generally three per cent) of each member's wage for provision against accidents, sickness, death, and for pensions for disabled and aged workmen. Another favourite application of business profits to the advantage of the workman is in the furthering of municipal improvements, where corporations are the principal tax-payers, and through the foundation of benefit funds, chiefly supported, in many cases entirely supported, by individual manufacturing establishments for the benefit of their own labourers. The beneficiary institutions of the establishments "Société Anonyme de Marceneille et de Couillet" and "Société Anonyme des Charbonnages de l'Ouest de Mons" will well repay the study and challenge the commendation of the social philosopher. Similar efforts are made by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company and other great corporations in the United States, varying only in their character.

Such institutions cannot be too highly praised, and their effect is almost instantly noticeable in the morale and spirit of the workman toward his employers. They have an excellent influence by adding to the hopefulness and cheerfulness of labour. The labourer who participates in these benefits feels that notwithstanding the wide social gulf which separates him from his employer, his employer at least cares something for him. The voluntary character of such institutions makes them all the more effective. They are certainly stimulative of an active appreciation of the benefits to be derived from a more direct system of profit-sharing. It must be concluded that participation by workmen in profits in addition to wages is a true harmoniser of the interests of capital and labour. It does, in fact, identify the interest of the employee with the interest of the employer. It converts the industrial association of employer and employee into a moral organism in which all the various talents, services, and desires of the component individuals are fused into a community of purpose and endeavour.

149. State Regulation.

Whenever governments undertake to regulate the relations of employer and employee, partial or complete failure usually attends the efforts. The experience of England after the black death, and the experience in the early history of our own colonies, are very marked examples of the results when the State interferes with the personal and economic relations of the employer and the employee. These experiences have prevented such attempts in later times. At present the State does not indulge in legislative regulation except in those cases which have been treated above (Chapter XIV.), such as the liability of employers, compulsory insurance, the inspection of factories, the protection of employees from exposed machinery, etc.

Under statutory law the employee's rights are the rights of every other citizen. His contract is as sacred as that of any other person; his wages are independent of legal regulation; his home is sacred; and in every way law and the courts are at his disposal. There is no legal discrimination against him, while on the other hand there is some discrimination in his favour; for instance, in bankruptcy most States provide that wages due at the time of insolvency shall be paid in full up to a certain amount before other claims are adjusted. Some States have also undertaken to regulate the intervals at which he shall be paid, providing for weekly or bi-weekly payments, on the ground that a man with money in his pocket can buy his supplies more advantageously than upon credit. Such laws, however, work both ways, for the improvident workingman with money in his pocket is at an equal disadvantage. It is a question whether such regulations really help the employee or injure him. Of course, the better view is that the development of individual manhood is the best security against improvidence and the misapplication of earnings.

The employee's rights under the common law are as secure as those of any other citizen. His relations with the employer under the common law are defined by the courts as the rights

of master and servant. Where an employee for a fixed period, at a salary for the period, payable at intervals, is wrongfully discharged, he may pursue one of four courses : —

1. He may sue at once for the breach of contract, in which case he can recover his damages only up to the time of bringing the suit.

2. He may wait until the end of the contract period, and then sue for the breach, in which case he may recover for the whole contract period.

3. He may treat the contract as existing, and sue at each period of payment for the wages then due.

4. He may treat the contract as rescinded, and sue immediately for the value of his services performed, in which case he can only recover for the time he actually served.

An employee is entitled to recover damages from a person who maliciously procures his discharge, provided he proves that the discharge resulted in damage to him. An employer is entitled to maintain an action against any one who knowingly entices away his servant, or wrongfully prevents the servant from performing his duty, or permits the servant to stay with him, and harbours such servant with the intention of depriving the master of his services.

Some very curious cases arose after the end of the war through the retention of negroes in slavery after they were legally free. As late as 1890 a negro woman sued the estate of her master for twenty-five years' wages, and won her case.

CHAPTER XVI.

QUESTIONS RELATING TO STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS.

150. References.

U. S. Commissioner of Labour, *Third Annual Report* (1887), and *Tenth Annual Report* (1894); U. S. Department of Labour, *Report of Chicago Strike Commission;* Pennsylvania Bureau of Industrial Statistics, *Report* (1892); Richard T. Ely, *Labor Movement in America*, chs. iv., v.; Mrs. C. R. Lowell, *Voluntary Arbitration*, in *American Journal of Social Science*, XVIII. 66; Lyman Abbott, *Compulsory Arbitration*, in *Arena*, VII. 30 (Dec., 1892); Carroll D. Wright, *Compulsory Arbitration an Impossible Remedy*, in *Forum*, XV. 323 (May, 1893); Timothy A. Carroll, *Conciliation and Arbitration in the Boot and Shoe Industry*, in U. S. Department of Labour, *Bulletin* No. 8; reports of State boards of arbitration for New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts; J. S. Salaman, *A Manual for Arbitration;* Carroll D. Wright, *Industrial Arbitration and Conciliation;* Joseph D. Weeks, *Labor Difficulties and their Settlement;* F. J. Stimson, *Labor in its Relations to Law*, and *The Modern Use of Injunction*, in *Political Science Quarterly*, X. 189 (June, 1895); W. H. Dunbar, *Government by Injunction*, in American Economic Association, *Economic Studies*, III. No. 1; F. J. Stimson, *The National Arbitration Law*, in *International Journal of Ethics*, VIII. 409 (July, 1898); Henry W. Farnam, *Labor Crises and their Periods in the United States*, in *Yale Review*, VII. 180 (August, 1898); *State Arbitration and the Living Wage* (*Fabian Tract*, No. 83); J. H. Benton, Jr., *What is "Government by Injunction"? Does it Exist in the United States?* (annual address before the Grafton and Coös (N. H.) Bar Association).

151. Nature of Strikes and Lockouts.

Differences of opinion as to what constitutes the true relation of employer and employee lead to labour controversies, which, if not adjusted by the sane and reasonable methods of conciliation, result in open industrial war, which may take the form of a strike by employees or a lockout by employers, with

a boycott as an auxiliary method of enforcing opinions and demands on either side. When a body of employees have a grievance of any kind and make a demand upon the employer to have the grievance removed, and the demand is not complied with, or there is no adjustment through an exchange of views and a disclosure of conditions, employees are apt to notify the employer that they will not work until their grievance is adjusted. The refusal to work then constitutes a strike. On the other hand, when employers take any action which the employees resent, such as the announcement of some new rule, or the reduction of wages, or when the men make what the employers consider an unreasonable demand, such as that non-union men shall be discharged, and the matters cannot be adjusted in a friendly way, employers sometimes close their works until such time as the employees comply with the wishes of the employer. This is a lockout. Strikes and lockouts are, therefore, practically the same thing, the difference being determined by the side from which the organised resistance comes.

Strikes and lockouts are not new phases of labour conditions; and, although such occurrences were rare, there are evidences of their existence all along through the ages. In the olden time a strike was a revolt, and was put down as such. The fearful peasant wars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were in origin strikes of agricultural labourers. It is in modern times that the strike and the lockout have been of frequent occurrence, and so frequent as to lead many to consider them necessary accompaniments of modern industrial conditions. No country that has adopted the modern system has been free from them, and they occur under all conditions, both of depression and of prosperity.

In this country strikes have been known since 1741, although there was no systematic record of them until 1880, when the Tenth Census showed for that year 610 strikes and 152 lockouts. So far as can be learned from a very incomplete statement based on trade journals, local histories, newspapers, and other sources, the number of recorded strikes occurring prior

to 1880 was 729. The Federal statistics for the period from and including 1881 to June 30, 1894, are quite full.[1]

During the four years since June 30, 1894, there has been no general official collection of data relating to strikes, but observation, the statements of trade journals, State labour reports, and other information lead to the conclusion that they have been much less numerous than for a long period. A severe industrial depression set in, in 1893, and wide-spread reductions in wages led to many conflicts.

It is an interesting fact that of the 69,167 establishments in which strikes occurred from January 1, 1881, to June 30, 1894, 62,038, or nearly 90 per cent, were in thirteen industries, as follows: building trades, 26,860 establishments; coal and coke, 8,018; tobacco, 5,465; clothing, 4,769; food preparations, 3,817; metals and metallic goods, 3,454; transportation, 2,805; stone quarrying and cutting, 2,461; boots and shoes, 959; furniture, 950; brick, 884; printing and publishing, 831; and cooperage, 765.

There were 6,067 establishments in which lockouts occurred during the period, and 4,914 establishments, or 81 per cent of

[1] Strikes, Establishments involved, and Employees thrown out of Employment, January 1, 1881, to June 30, 1894.

Year.	Strikes.	Establishments Involved.	Average establishments to a Strike.	Employees thrown out of Employment.
1881	471	2,928	6.2	129,521
1882	454	2,105	4.6	154,671
1883	478	2,759	5.8	149,763
1884	443	2,367	5·3	147,054
1885	645	2,284	3·5	242,705
1886	1,432	10,053	7.0	508,044
1887	1,436	6,589	4.6	379,726
1888	906	3,506	3·9	147,704
1889	1,075	3,786	3·5	249,559
1890	1,833	9,424	5·1	351,944
1891	1,718	8,117	4·7	299,064
1892	1,298	5,540	4·3	206,671
1893	1,305	4,555	3·5	265,914
1894 (6 months)	896	5,154	5.8	482,066
Total	14,390	69,167	4.8	3,714,406
Average per year	?	?	?	?

all, were included in six industries, as follows: building trades, 2,431; clothing, 1,204; stone quarrying and cutting, 513; boots and shoes, 285; tobacco, 277; and metals and metallic goods, 204.

Of the total number of employees thrown out of employment by strikes (3,714,406), the males constituted 91+ per cent, and the females 8+ per cent. By the lockouts 366,690 employees were thrown out of employment, 77+ per cent being males, and 22+ per cent females. Of the 69,167 establishments involved in the strikes during the period named, 49,210 were located in the States of Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, while of the 6,067 establishments in which lockouts occurred, 4,906 were in these States.

The average duration of the strikes during the period was 25.4 days, and of the lockouts, 47.6 days. Forty-four and one-half per cent of the strikes and 40⅓ per cent of the lockouts succeeded (by "success" is meant that the demands insisted upon were granted), while 44½ per cent of the strikes and 47¾ of the lockouts failed: in other cases there was partial success.

152. Causes of Strikes and Lockouts.

The causes for which strikes were undertaken related commonly to wages or to the reduction of hours; these causes, which represent the usual grievances from 1881 to 1886, may be classified as in the table, in note, on the next page, and they account for nine-tenths of all the strikes in the period.

In labour contests, as in all others between intelligent beings, each party claims that it is standing up for a vital principle and insists that on that account it will not yield. As there cannot be two vital principles of an antagonistic nature, and as one or the other of the contestants must be mistaken, it would seem a wise course to submit all matters to some cool third party for reasonable adjustment. The labour question, concretely stated, means the struggle for a higher standard of

living. So it is a matter of principle with labour leaders that nothing shall be countenanced which in their judgment will in any way lead to a lower standard of living, or which will infringe upon the life-line of wages, and a strike is from their side a vigorous protest against any condition existing or which may exist in interference with the higher standard, — an assertion that inconvenience, suffering, deprivation, hunger, will be endured rather than yield the principle at stake. Whether the leaders of the strike be men of undoubted wisdom, or agitators, or unprincipled demagogues, the ethics of the case is unaltered, although the personal equation may aggravate the matter in the public estimation. On the other hand, the employer, whether honest or dishonest, arbitrary or generous, is prone to

Cause or Object.	Establishments.	Per cent.
For increase of wages	9,439	42.32
For reduction of hours	4,344	19.48
Against reduction of wages	1,734	7.77
For increase of wages and reduction of hours	1,692	7.59
For reduction of hours and against being compelled to board with employer	800	3.59
For change of hour of beginning work	360	1.61
For increase of wages and against the contract system	238	1.07
For increase of wages and against employment of non-union men	215	.96
In sympathy with strike elsewhere	173	.77
For 9 hours' work with 10 hours' pay	172	.77
Against employment of non-union men, foremen, etc.	162	.73
For increase of wages and recognition of union	145	.65
For adoption of union, etc., scale of prices	142	.64
Against increase of hours	138	.62
For increase of wages and enforcement of union indenture rules	132	.59
For reduction of hours and wages	126	.56
For reinstatement of discharged employees, foremen, etc.	124	.56
Total of 17 leading causes	20,136	90.28
All other causes (297)	2,168	9.72
Total for the United States	22,304	100.00

feel that he has a right to manage his own business in his own way, and that he knows better than any one else what wages he can pay. When he says he will not yield to the demands of the striking party he feels that a principle vital to the integrity of his business is at stake; and he feels secure in this position and has the sympathy of all men who have been or who may be situated in like manner. Nevertheless, as in ordinary lawsuits, that which was a vital principle to one of the parties must either be vacated through defeat or else each must yield something for the sake of the public welfare. Ordinarily the fight goes on without much regard to the public, until one or the other is obliged to yield by exhaustion or loss of business.

Sometimes the strike of an individual establishment leads to a general strike in which all or many of the establishments in the same industry are involved. Such a general disturbance must be considered as one strike; but where a strike leads to collateral difficulties, — as, for instance, involves establishments engaged in producing some part or parts of the material used in another establishment that is involved in a strike, — then many complications occur, and the disturbance in the various industries involved must be considered as separate strikes. This class of difficulties is quite rare. Workingmen themselves, as represented by their organisations, dislike to enter into a controversy that does not concern them directly. They do, however, at times order so-called "sympathetic strikes," — strikes for the purpose of expressing their sympathy with strikers already out. Lockouts sometimes arise in the same way, from a sympathy of one employer with the struggle of another; but the public looks very unfavourably on a lockout of men willing to work on the usual basis.

What may be called "provoked strikes" are not unknown. Sometimes employers find it more convenient in slack times to let the men strike than to run short time; sometimes they meet a probable but distant strike by a lockout. Sometimes there are collusive strikes, in which an employer contrives to

have his own men strike, so as to cause a strike against a competitor who has more favourable conditions of wages. Of late years there have been many suggestions that workmen could compel a great readjustment of wages and treatment by a "general strike," — a simultaneous refusal to work by the great mass of working people.

153. Cost of Strikes and Lockouts.

Perhaps the most startling statement relative to strikes and lockouts relates to their cost. Looking at the period of $13\frac{1}{2}$ years from 1881 to 1894, the loss to employees in the establishments in which strikes occurred appears to be nearly $164,000,000, and the loss through lockouts, $26,685,516, making a total loss to employees of $190,493,382, or an average loss of $44 to each person involved in the difficulties. In addition to direct desistance of wages, labour organisations sacrificed in assistance to strikers, for the strikes, nearly $11,000,000, and for the lockouts, $2,500,000, or a total sum of almost $13,500,000. The loss to employers through strikes, for the period named, was over $82,500,000, and through lockouts, $12,235,000, making a total loss of almost $95,000,000. The general bill of expense, therefore, would amount to over three hundred millions.

Some of the strikes which have occurred during the past few years have assumed vast proportions, among the most important being the great railroad strikes of 1877 on the Baltimore and Ohio and Pennsylvania railroads at Pittsburg. Other historic contests are the telegraphers' strike of 1883, the railway strike of 1885–86 on the Gould system, the strike at the steel works at Homestead in July, 1892, and the strike at Chicago in 1894, perhaps the most disastrous and far-reaching that ever occurred in this country. Since 1894 the most important strike was that of 1897, among the bituminous coal mines.

154. Number of Persons involved in Strikes.

To ascertain the exact number of persons involved or the exact losses either of employers or employees is impossible; the round figures given above are the nearest approximations that can be obtained, but in all probability are much below the real losses. As an example of the complications and loss of a great strike, take that in Chicago in 1894. The contest was chiefly between two organisations, — the Pullman Company, manufacturers of railway cars, on the one hand, and their employees on the other; but the American Railway Union entered the contest and ordered a sympathetic strike on the different railroads centring in Chicago. This was followed by some other sympathetic strikes and an attempt to secure a general strike involving all industries. A careful estimate of the loss of earnings of the railroads gave a total of $4,672,916, besides a sum estimated at $685,308 for property destroyed, the expense of United States deputy marshals, and other incidental expenses. There were 3,100 employees at Pullman, and they lost about $350,000 in wages. Nearly 100,000 employees upon the twenty-four railroads converging at Chicago, all of which were more or less involved in the strike, lost in wages, as estimated by the different managers, about $1,400,000. Beyond these amounts, very great losses, widely distributed, were incidentally suffered throughout the country, by reason of lack of transportation and consequent stoppage of industry; it was popularly believed that this general loss amounted to nearly $80,000,000.

155. Industrial Conciliation.

When strikes are peacefully conducted and are local in their relations the public takes little or no interest in them, but when the conditions are intense and the contest is accompanied by acts of violence and a disregard of public convenience, then attention is called to them, and the public is more or less interested. It is at such times that innumerable propositions

are put forth for the settlement of labour troubles and the general solution of what is known as the labour question.

The adjustment of differences should always be attempted under what is called industrial conciliation or mediation, but such a method can be resorted to only by men of a high order, — men who have the good of the community and of their own establishments at heart, who recognise the power of moral relations as well as the force of economic conditions.

Industrial conciliation means that when differences arise between employers and employees, the two shall meet on a common basis, each recognising the manliness of the other and the desire to adjust matters with perfect equity. If it be the individual employer, on the one hand, and the individual employee on the other, there is little difficulty in the two coming together and discussing the merits of the position of each; when the employer is a corporation and the employees are organised, then each must meet the other through representatives. The claim on the part of great employers that they can deal only with individual employees is as absurd as it would be for the labour union to insist upon meeting the individual stockholders or the individual members of a firm. Neither party has a right to make such a claim. Representatives must deal with representatives; organisation must recognise organisation, and the committees of the two must meet in friendly spirit for the purpose of fairly and honestly discussing the questions under consideration. When this takes place it is incumbent on the representatives of the employers to state frankly and fully the conditions under which they are attempting to produce goods; they know the conditions of the workingmen, and the workingmen can know the conditions of production only through the representatives of organised capital. The very spirit of conciliation means frankness, a desire on the part of each to inform the other fully of the merits of their respective claims. Whenever such a course is pursued the results are usually satisfactory.

One single illustration may be referred to as embodying the

whole principle of industrial conciliation. A few years ago a great iron company had been running for a year or two without profit, simply with a view of preserving its plant and holding its skilled work-people together until better times should come, and had been compelled to reduce wages ten per cent. The employees made a demand for a ten per cent increase in wages. The president of the company, instead of telling the men that if they did not like the conditions under which they were employed they could quit, frankly informed them that they were at liberty to examine the books of the concern, and that if on such examination they believed the company could restore the former wages the restoration should take place; and he suggested that in order to make such examination an expert accountant be employed, — a man not known to either the corporation or the labour union, and that if the union could not pay his expenses the company would. This proposition was met in the same spirit in which it was offered: an expert accountant was employed by the men, the books of the concern turned over to him, and he reported to the union the result of his examination. On receiving this report the committee of the union waited upon the president of the iron company, and not only informed him that they were satisfied the restoration demanded could not be made, but recommended a further reduction of ten per cent. The company, of course, did not accept the recommendation, but continued to pay the wages it had been paying and to produce iron without profit until such time as their orders warranted an increase, when of their own motion the company restored the old wages of its people. It is unnecessary to remark that this company has never had a strike, and it probably never will, for its method of meeting its people on moral and economic grounds commends itself to all right-minded persons. The instances of this method of treatment are not rare; they teach an invaluable lesson, and the experience under such method might be repeated by every employer and union in the land. It is industrial conciliation pure and simple.

Of course, it must be admitted that many firms and corporations have a strong objection to allowing any one to examine their accounts, especially if they are either very prosperous or very much involved; it may reveal their customers, their special prices, or even their trade secrets.

156. Industrial Arbitration.

As has been seen, conciliation is a method of adjustment through the powers of reasoning and the exposition of facts, and usually some attempt is made to come to an understanding before a rupture actually takes place. Oftentimes, however, the issue is declared immediately and bluntly, as an ultimatum. Many people think that at this juncture of industrial controversy the parties involved should resort to arbitration; that is, that all questions at issue should be submitted to an impartial board, which should take into consideration all the facts on both sides and reach a basis of settlement. This method has been resorted to in England with great effect, especially in particular trades where the employers and the employees have established mutual and voluntary boards of arbitration, and sometimes side by side with a legally-established board constantly existing. In this country some twenty or more States have provided for boards of arbitration to which labour controversies may be submitted, and the United States Government, by an act approved October 1, 1888, repealed by the broader act of June 1, 1898, has recognised the principle of industrial arbitration.

When this principle has been resorted to it has more generally been through mutual boards brought into existence by the act of the parties involved, one selecting one arbitrator, the other another, and the two selecting a third, after the custom of settling private disputes, when the parties do not wish to undergo the expense and the time necessary to carry their contest through the courts. It is pre-eminently a civilised method of adjusting difficulties. It has not been carried to any very great extent in this country, although a few States

(Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey) have active and efficient boards, which have accomplished something in the way of adjusting aggravated difficulties. They have no power to enforce their decisions, but they may recommend what in their judgment seems to be for the best interests of all concerned, the public being considered as an involuntary party to all controversies.

So far as law is concerned, in this country and in Great Britain there has been no resort to what is known as compulsory arbitration; that is, a method by which one of the parties may compel the other to submit all points of controversy to an official board. In New Zealand this method has been applied, and so far without much difficulty. It may be, however, that when the industries of New Zealand are more extended, or a really great strike takes place, the compulsory method will not prove satisfactory.

Voluntary arbitration requires a very high moral character of the parties in controversy, since each must be willing not only to submit his side of the question, but to produce all the facts and information necessary for the board to arrive at a just and equitable conclusion. Such a method can have no disastrous effect upon industry or upon society, and is indeed a recognition of the right of the public to have a voice in the conduct of business. Voluntary arbitration is more far-reaching than its advocates usually consider it. It is not simply an attempt to adjust the difficulties between two contending parties; it is a manifestation not only of the desire but of the power of the public itself to say to the parties involved, "If you cannot carry on your business without conflict, we will aid you." Whether business interests or the public itself is ready to indorse this far-reaching principle is a question which must be determined in the near future. The verdict will undoubtedly be that the public will insist upon business being so conducted that third parties shall be left in the peaceful enjoyment of trade and commerce. The particular difficulties existing between a railroad company and its employees ought

not to disturb the whole business of transportation or stagnate any particular line or lines of business or trade. The public will insist upon peace and the peaceful adjustment of industrial controversies.

Compulsory arbitration is not only the most imperfect application of this power of the public, but it would lead to results far more disastrous than those following strikes and lockouts; for when it is admitted that one of the parties can summon the other into court, and by default or on hearing secure a decree or a judgment, there is but one inevitable result, — the duty of the government to enforce the judgment, as it can enforce the judgment of any court of law, and that is with the whole power of the State, both civil and military. For instance, when an employer is to be compelled to pay a wage that economic conditions will not permit, his business must be closed if he cannot pay; more likely there will be some kind of combination of all employers in the line involved, which will enable them to resist the direct influences of the judgment. On the other hand, a decree which should seek to compel the employee to accept a wage which he did not wish to accept would result either in a complete withdrawal from employment or a disastrous industrial warfare, or the driving of men to the bench or forge by armed force, and that is slavery.

Thus the process of compulsory arbitration is only an indirect method of establishing wages and prices by law. Wherever it has been attempted, whether in England or in the United States, failure has been the result, and failure must inevitably be the result of any attempt indirectly to fix wages and prices; for if prices can be fixed by law all consumers must be compelled under a penalty to purchase the commodities they wish at a price which will enable producers to carry out the law. It may be that by and by there will be some form of compulsory adjustment of the differences which may arise between railroad companies and their employees, simply on the ground that railroads are quasi-public corporations and

their employees quasi-public servants; yet in France the right of railway employees to be absent from their posts without leave, in order to attend a labour convention, has been practically approved by a vote of the Chamber.

157. Boycotts.

The boycott is only a modified form of compulsion, of which the essence is that it is negative in its action, and that it may apply to persons not themselves parties to a strike or lockout. One body of men undertakes to compel another body or an individual to do certain things through the withdrawal of patronage from their opponent or from his friends and sympathisers. It is a very old and a very common method of dealing with persons who do not conform to conditions deemed necessary by workmen; for instance, goods may be made under insanitary conditions, by miserably paid operatives, and a society or a league which wishes to induce the public to condemn the practices of the manufacturer or dealer seeks to secure a withdrawal of patronage from such manufacturer or dealer, in the hope of compelling him to employ operatives at a decent wage and under conditions which shall conduce to their general welfare. Objectionable dealers may be driven out of the line of competition by the organised refusal to buy his goods, or by the organised refusal to sell to him. Workingmen resort to this method to compel the producer to make or sell his goods in the way which they prefer, or to employ only union labour, or to stamp his goods with the union label. These are the usual forms of boycott with which the public is familiar.

The boycott from the workman's side is often a terribly effective method, because it not only deprives a man of his calling; it may also put him under a social ban. The coarse but telling word "scab," applied to the man who is willing to take a striker's place, may mean that no one will sell him food, or give him lodging, or speak a friendly word.

On the other hand, capitalists have their form of boycott

against each other and against labourers; for instance, great railroads, though legally bound to carry on equal terms what is brought to them to transport, do not hesitate to refuse to sell tickets over a branch or a connecting road, or to handle freight which comes to them under conditions which they do not like. This is the force which they use to compel such combination or limitation or restriction as the boycotting road thinks desirable. Trusts are, in a certain sense, organised boycotts, under which all who come into the trust seek to crush out those who do not come in.

Another form of boycott is known as the blacklist; that is, a union, for instance, which wishes to divert trade from an employer or dealer who does not conform to the demands of the union, blacklists the party against whom complaint is made by notifying all other unions that such party is to be avoided and trade with him abandoned; or a union may blacklist a non-union man or some person within the union who has broken some regulation. The blacklist, however, is more generally resorted to by the employer, when some offensive employee has been discharged, by notifying others engaged in the same line of business not to employ him. It is a favourite method resorted to by parties on both sides, and yet very generally denied by them; nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence to show that the blacklist is a real weapon of offensive warfare used by either party when controversies arise, or when conditions do not conform to a certain standard.

The boycott may be the subject of arbitration, the same as the more offensive strike or lockout. Some States have undertaken to legislate against the boycott by making the resort to it as a means either a misdemeanor or a crime, and punishable accordingly, but such legislation has not as yet been very effective. There are many quiet, polite, and peaceful ways of enforcing the principle known as the boycott. It is difficult to so legislate as to compel a man to buy his goods in certain places or under certain conditions. The freedom of the individual will resents all such matters; and how can it be made a

crime to refuse association with a person whom one does not like? The law can reach acts, but not internal preferences.

158. Injunctions.

Originally, in England and elsewhere, a strike was in itself an unlawful act; at present, both in England and America, there is no penalty for quietly refusing to work, but violence, destruction of property, and intimidation are punishable. During the past few years the courts have exercised their powers under what is known as a writ of injunction, to prevent strikers and others from performing some act which it is considered would be in violation of law, as set forth in a specific order of the court; and against this use of the injunction workingmen have made grave complaint. It is an interesting sociological subject, because it is far-reaching, and under it the welfare of society may be greatly disturbed or greatly enhanced, according to the wisdom with which the writ is applied.

The writ of injunction is intended to prevent any change in the conditions of a case while it is pending, but some five hundred years ago the chancery courts of England, in order to carry out the policy of the king, were called upon to issue injunctions to restrain parties from committing violence or engaging in riots, or in other ways disturbing the peace, though such acts, if committed, could be duly punished. This was a very great stretch of the use of the writ, and after some two hundred years of practice in this line this use was abandoned, and the writ of injunction sought only in certain well-defined cases. Our courts of equity, which are in principle the chancery courts of England, have followed the English precedents.

An injunction, ordinarily, is granted on the petition of the complainant either to prevent or to compel action. When a party finds that another is about to take some action which would be prejudicial to the first, like the erection of a nuisance in the vicinity of a residence, he can apply to a court of competent jurisdiction for a writ of injunction to restrain the respondent from taking the anticipated action. In such case

the respondent is temporarily enjoined and cited into court to show cause why a perpetual injunction should not be issued in the premises. Sometimes the temporary injunction applies when the case is urgent; but should the party complained of, either under temporary or permanent injunction, disregard the orders of the court, he would be guilty of contempt, in which case the court issuing the writ could order his arrest, and on *ex parte* statements, supported by proper affidavits, commit him for contempt, and punish him either by fine or imprisonment, but the offence in such cases is not the act itself, but the act while the court had the matter under consideration.

On the other hand, where an agreement had been entered into, and one of the parties threatens to disregard its terms, or fails in carrying them out, the party aggrieved may apply for a writ of injunction to compel what is known in law as a specific performance of the agreement. By disregarding a writ in this case the respondent would be guilty of contempt and punishable, as in the case just cited.

Recently the courts have extended this use of the writ of injunction, and made it apply to parties engaged in strikes. The most notable instance of this occurred during the Chicago strike in 1894, when a judge of the United States Court issued a writ of injunction against Mr. Debs, the President of the American Railway Union, directing him to refrain from all acts, advice, or instigation in the matters then pending. In the writ all other persons associated with Mr. Debs were joined, and then, that no question of identity should arise, all persons whomsoever were enjoined. Notice was served upon the respondents, and the injunction posted on cars and in other places, and Mr. Debs and some others, on disregarding the terms of the writ, were arrested for contempt of court, convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment.

The complaint of the workingmen in such cases lies in the fact that by the injunction persons are warned to refrain from doing things which, if done, would be crimes under statutory law and punishable accordingly, and the claim is made that they

should be allowed to be tried as criminals, or as breakers of law, by a jury in the ordinary way, when under the bill of rights of all States and of all governments they would have the privilege of facing their accusers and bringing forward evidence in their defence.

Another interesting factor in the case is to be found in two laws passed by Congress. Under an act passed in 1890, commonly known as the anti-trust law, it was declared that "every contract, combination in the form of a trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, is illegal;" and under the act of 1887 creating the Interstate Commerce Commission it was made a criminal offence for railroads, their officers or employees, to refuse to perform their duties as common carriers, and to refuse to receive the cars and passengers of other railroads or companies. As a direct result of these acts a strike of employees becomes, in effect, a conspiracy against interstate commerce. So when strikers so conduct themselves as to restrain trade or commerce among the States or allow themselves to refuse to perform their duties in receiving cars and passengers of railroads or companies engaged in interstate commerce, they violate the conditions of statutory law, and can be dealt with under such law; but in order to secure prompt and effective results the "omnibus" or "blanket" injunction was applied in 1894, and those disregarding the injunction were held as guilty of contempt of court, although trusts and railroads had for years violated these very provisions of the laws of 1887 and 1890, and no injunctions had been issued against them.

In the case of railroads going into the hands of receivers, they must be run practically by the courts, and all the officers of the roads or agents necessary for the conduct of the business of transportation are practically agents of the courts, and the disobedience of their orders constitutes contempt of court. In all these cases the court is the judge and the jury; and the punishment may be fine or imprisonment without limit, although imprisonment usually does not exceed six months.

Many jurists are satisfied that this use of the injunction, which is popularly known now as government by injunction, is altogether too extensive, but the difficulty lies in particularising by statute just what actions shall be subject to the writ of injunction. The purity and integrity of the courts constitute the chief reliance of the public in these matters, for when it is understood that the writ of injunction is what Lord Eldon in the early part of this century called it, "the right hand of the courts," it is difficult to see how specific limitations can be made to apply with justice in all cases. Certain it is that should the use of the writ become offensive in any large degree, restrictive legislation will be demanded and secured.

159. Conspiracy.

The whole question turns very largely upon what is conspiracy.[1] Until quite late in this century any combination of workingmen to raise wages was considered a conspiracy to restrain trade, and the parties to the combination were considered guilty of conspiracy; but as time has gone on and the conditions of industry become more complicated, the courts have held that workingmen have a perfect right to combine for the purpose of increasing their wages, or to secure a change in the rules or regulations under which they are employed, or for other purposes. The courts universally hold now, however, that while such a combination is not a conspiracy, when accompanied by acts of violence, or when it is unlawful, — that is, when there is resort to unlawful means by what is called unwarrantable interference with the conduct of an employer's affairs, through threats or other forms of intimidation, — the act amounts to a conspiracy and is punishable accordingly. Judge Brady, of New York, in a recent case, has stated that no doubt exists of the right of the workmen to seek by all possible means an increase of wages, and all meetings and combinations having that object

[1] United States Commissioner of Labour, *Third Annual Report* (1887) Appendix.

in view, which are not distinguished by violence or threats, and are therefore lawful, cannot be reasonably condemned, or justly interfered with. This is the general interpretation of courts at the present time.

In many of the States, however, legislation has been directed towards strikes, boycotts, and lockouts. In many of them, where the common law of England was in force, men have been tried for and convicted of conspiracy for attempts to coerce their employers by resorting to strikes and their concomitants, — the boycotting of non-union men and of those who employed them. In recent years a number of the States and Territories have endeavoured to make plain by statute how far a combination by employees for the purpose named is to be protected, and, on the other hand, what acts will subject the perpetrators to punishment. Where there is an absence of such legislation the common law on the subject of conspiracy appears at times to be still in force, while in States where the common law does not obtain, the absence of statutory enactments on the subject of strikes and boycotts may be accounted for by their comparative rarity; for in localities where agriculture is the chief pursuit of the people, and where the mechanical, manufacturing, and mining interests are of little or no importance, strikes, boycotts, and conspiracies relating to wages are almost unknown.

Notwithstanding this agitation, and the multiplication of adjudged cases, so that the learning on the subject becomes more widely known, the question as to what combinations of workmen or employers may or may not do without subjecting themselves to indictment for conspiracy is still oftentimes obscure, and those who find it necessary to come to a conclusion on a specific case should consult not only the decisions of the courts, but the statutes of the State where the difficulty arises.

Part VI.

Social Well-Being.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH.

160. References.

United States Eleventh Census (1890), *Report on Wealth, Debt, and Taxation*; M. J. Mulhall, *Industries and Wealth of Nations;* Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labour, *Fourth Annual Report, Fifth Annual Report, Tenth Annual Report*, p. 15, and *Twenty-fifth Annual Report*, Part II. (School Savings Banks); Charles B. Spahr, *The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States*, chs. iii.–vi.; Thomas G. Shearman, *The Coming Billionaire*, in *Forum*, X. 546 (Jan., 1891); G. B. Waldron, *A Handbook of Currency and Wealth;* W. H. Mallock, *Classes and Masses;* J. R. Common, *Distribution of Wealth;* U. S. Commissioner of Labour, *Ninth Annual Report*, 1893 (Building and Loan Associations); Comptroller of the Currency, *Reports;* Seymour Dexter, *Co-operative Savings and Loan Associations;* H. S. Rosenthal, *Building and Loan Associations;* Henry W. Wolf, *People's Banks;* Carroll D. Wright, *Principles of Building and Loan Associations*, in *Savings and Loan Review*, XVIII. 17 (July, 1898); Charles N. Thompson, *A Treatise on Building Associations, adapted to the Use of Lawyers and Officers;* Mary M. Janvier, *School Savings Banks*, in *Chautauquan*, XIX. 749 (Sept., 1894); J. H. Thiry, of Long Island City, N. Y., *Thirteenth Annual Report relating to School Savings Banks;* Postmaster-General of the United States, *Annual Reports*, 1896–9 (Postal Savings Depositories).

161. Sociological View of Wealth.

The material functions of society have been established primarily to secure the individual against want; hence the accumulation of wealth claims the chief attention of man, and

the methods of accumulation must necessarily have an influence upon the development of the individual, such development being commensurate with the enlightenment attending the accumulation. Systems of labour and methods of production have much to do with the character of the individual units and of society at large; so that all the phases of wealth, whether they relate to its accumulation or its distribution, are matters of practical sociology.

The economic definitions of wealth need not be discussed in this place, but taking wealth in its general significance, it may be said to comprehend the accumulation of all material things which are the subject of desire, — land, buildings, furniture, books, pictures, money, — everything which conduces to man's comfort, convenience, and happiness. This is wealth in the sociological sense, and whatever the psychological results of industry may be, physically speaking, properly regulated industry must result in accumulation, and thus in the improved condition of the individual units of society. Private property, therefore, lies at the very foundation of social advancement, because it stimulates accumulation, without which civilisation could not be developed as at present, and the standard of living would be that of the savage, and the individual would have little ambition to secure and uphold the family. As Blackstone has put it, "the sacredness of private property lies in the fundamental principle or interest of self-preservation; in fact, private property finds its existence in this instinct; for property is the means by which not only is self preserved, but by which the species may be perpetuated." The accumulation of property, then, becomes a duty as well as a desire, and the peaceful conduct of industrial enterprises a necessity. The social well-being of any community rests upon its ability to develop itself by supplying itself with whatever is necessary for its true culture.

162. Earnings and Wealth.

It is only within recent years that the statistical method has enabled us to approximate closely the earnings and wealth of different peoples, and this only during the present century; and even now the facts relative to total wealth are more available than those relating to individual fortunes, yet while total wealth is very unequally distributed, the total represents the general prosperity of a nation. Up to about 1825 all statements relative to wealth and the general earnings of the people at large were the results of estimates based upon taxation and some other elements of fact. Now, with all the faultiness of the statistics of wealth, owing to differences in valuation, the hesitancy of property owners to state fully their holdings, and other difficulties, the figures furnish a fair indication of the increase of wealth and of general earnings.

According to Mulhall, the earnings of the people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in 1812 amounted to $107 per head, equivalent to 35 bushels of wheat; in 1836, the earnings were $117 per head, being the equivalent of 76 bushels of wheat; in 1860, $156, the equivalent of 94 bushels *per capita*, while in 1895, the earnings were $175 *per capita*, the equivalent of 245 bushels of wheat. So for Great Britain the average earnings per inhabitant have risen 50 per cent in money since 1836, and their equivalent in wheat has increased threefold.

The earnings for France were, for 1816, $73 per inhabitant; for 1860, $117; and for 1894, $151, the money increase being over 100 per cent since 1816.

The wealth of Great Britain at the present time amounts to $1,470 per head, while in 1860 it was $1,212. In France the wealth per inhabitant in 1830 was $438, in 1869, $857, and in 1892, $1,178.

For our own country the estimates of total wealth at different periods are shown by the following table. By "true valuation" is meant the fair selling price of property, and is

used to distinguish selling price from "assessed valuation," which is a valuation put upon property taxed and for purposes of taxation only: —

Years.	True Valuation.			Assessed Valuation of Real and Personal Property Taxed.		
	Total.	Per capita.	Increase. (Per cent.)	Total.	Per capita.	Increase. (Per cent.)
1850.	$7,135,780,228	$308	. .	$6,024,666,909	$260	. .
1860.	16,159,616,068	514	126.46	12,084,560,005	384	10.58
1870.	30,068,518,507	780	86.07	14,178,986,732	368	17.33
1880.	43,642,000,000	870	45.14	17,139,903,495	342	20.88
1890.	65,037,091,197	1,036	49.02	25,473,173,418	407	48.62

An interesting question is in what visible forms is this enormous wealth to be found. The rough additions in the census of 1890 show about two-thirds in the form of real estate and improvements thereon, which includes all lands and lots, but not mines, quarries, telegraphs, telephones, or railroads, except in a few States where the road-bed, station-houses, and repair-shops of railroads are classed as real estate for purposes of taxation, and their value is not separately stated. The results are as follows: —

Real Estate, with Improvements thereon	$39,544,544,333
Livestock on Farms, Farm Implements, and Machinery	2,703,015,040
Mines and Quarries, including product on hand	1,291,291,579
Gold and Silver Coin and Bullion	1,158,774,948
Machinery of Mills and product on hand, Raw and Manufactured	3,058,593,441
Railroads and Equipments, including $389,357,289 for Street Railroads	8,685,407,323
Telegraphs, Telephones, Shipping, Canals, and Equipment	701,755,712
Miscellaneous	7,893,708,821
Total	$65,037,091,197

In all probability the totals are far from complete, and in the earlier years by decades much less complete than later; but if the total given for 1850 or 1860 should be doubled, the increase is most gratifying, and shows that the United States as a nation has developed its wonderful natural resources through the energy of its industries. Both capital and labour are responsible for this marvellous development. It is only natural that with such rapid strides the distribution of this vast amount of wealth should be very unequal, but there must have been benefits accruing to all classes.

The means of obtaining this vast amount of wealth are found in agriculture, manufactures, commerce, fisheries, and mining. The total computed value of the products of all the natural resources alone for the year 1890 was the enormous sum of $3,537,650,391, and this does not include the products of manufacturing and mechanical industries. Notwithstanding this great annual production and the vast accumulation in the years past, it would not take long, with production entirely suspended, to exhaust the whole accumulation. During the year 1890 it must have cost the people of the United States for their support, on a fair estimate, $12,000,000,000. The wealth of the country would, allowing that lands and buildings could be turned into consumable wares, support the people for a little more than five years, if so long. This illustration shows how close the people are to dependence upon the annual production instead of upon accumulated wealth.

163. Individual Wealth.

The acquisition of wealth by the individual is through the part he plays as an earner in society. He may inherit property, but even that inheritance is the result of previous individual frugality and the economical use of earnings. The earnings of the individual constitute his and the nation's chief source of accumulation. The individual desire which lies back of the effort is one that can be developed by environment, but it belongs, after all, to the natural ambitions born with the individual.

American statistics do not warrant any very careful classification of the distribution of wealth. The government has never felt at liberty to make inquiry concerning the possessions of individuals. When the income tax was in force during the Civil War it resulted in a classification of incomes, but the returns were altogether too faulty to warrant a valuable conclusion. The assessors of the country might classify the estates or personal holdings of the inhabitants did law make provision for such classification, but in all States assessment must be made for purposes of taxation only. So far such classification has not been carried out to any extent, certainly not sufficiently to warrant any conclusion. Therefore all the statements which one sees relating to the number of persons having such and such a fortune, or the number of people having no fortunes, are estimates based upon individual observation and that "general information" which generally misinforms.

In England the classification is more reasonable because of the regularity of their method of taxation, and their systematic record as to the distribution of wealth through the administration by the courts of the succession duty. As an example of such classification reference may be made to Mulhall's "Industries and Wealth of Nations," in which he makes a distribution based on the probate returns for the five years ending in 1893. With a population in 1891 of 38,857,000 he finds that the rich numbered 327,000, with an average of about $136,000 per head; that the middle class numbered 2,380,000, with nearly $4,500 per head; that the working class numbered 18,210,000, with about $150 per head, and the children, 17,940,000, without any estimate as to their holdings. The average for the whole population was $1,470 *per capita*. Under this classification nearly four-fifths of the total wealth of Great Britain is held by about one sixty seventh of the adult population, the middle class constituting 11 per cent of the population and holding 18 per cent of the wealth. Whether such a classification would be fairly representative in the

United States cannot be ascertained, but in all probability the distinctions here approximate those for the United Kingdom.

164. Savings Institutions.

The possession of lands, whether in farms or building lots, and of homes, is the desire of most of the human race; next thereafter the individual wishes to possess accumulations in the form of the representatives of property, such as money, loans, bonds, stocks, mortgages, — anything that has a value in exchange and by the use of which more and better conveniences can be secured.

To stimulate frugality, to enable the individual to own his home, or to improve his condition, there have been established in most countries institutions known as savings banks, in which people can deposit small amounts, which, united with similar deposits of other people, make in the aggregate large sums; this accumulation can be loaned on securities at the usual rates of interest, so that the individual depositor can secure his share of the interest return, when as an individual he could not profitably or so safely invest his money. All such institutions are regulated by law, the officers thereof being obliged to make returns to the State government, so that it and the public may know how they are being conducted. The methods of investment are also regulated by State law. Usually the deposits of a savings bank must be loaned on real estate as security, or else upon specified classes of bonds and obligations.

These institutions sometimes fail, sometimes from embezzlements, although more often through mismanagement or lack of judgment, under which loans have been made upon insufficient security with the hope of receiving a large interest. On the whole, the savings banks of this country have been well conducted, and they have been the means of building up communities and of enabling families to establish themselves in comfort, for the savings bank primarily loans to small borrowers. Sometimes, when there is a plethora of money, they

make loans of money to manufacturing and other establishments for the purpose of developing some great enterprises. From a business point of view the savings bank collects small amounts from a large number of individuals and puts the accumulation into active enterprises, either of building or of manufacturing, thus enabling the person with only a few dollars to become interested in the industrial prosperity of his community.

England, France, Belgium, and other European countries have established such institutions, and they have been prosperous. In the United States, according to the latest returns (those for 1898, as published by the Comptroller of the Currency of the Federal Government, though some of the savings banks are not included in the reports), the total number of savings bank depositors was 5,385,746, the total amount of deposits $2,065,631,298, and the average of each depositor $383.55. The increase in the average amount due each depositor has been from $131.86 in 1820 to $383.55 in 1898; the largest average was in 1876, when it was $397.42.

It is often stated that the amount of deposits in the savings banks of the country represents the savings of the wage-earners. This statement is only partially true, for it has been proved by investigation that only about half of the deposits in the savings banks of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts belong to this class of depositors. If Massachusetts is representative, half of the accumulations in the savings banks of the country belong to the wage-earners; this is a gratifying statement. The vast amount in the savings banks indicates an individual prosperity that is satisfactory, or at least indicates that individuals belonging to the earning classes are saving their earnings and are becoming in a certain sense capitalists, and by their savings contribute to the great sums which are used so effectively in developing resources and building up enterprises.

A method to induce economic and frugal habits among children is to be found in the establishment of school savings banks, which have existed for some years in France, Belgium, Italy, and some other countries, and now in this country.

They were established in France about 1834, but they attracted little attention in that country until 1870; there are now official reports of the doings of the school savings banks in that country. The father of the system in this country is Mr. J. H. Thiry, of Long Island City, a native of France, and formerly a resident of Belgium, who became very much interested in the school savings bank system as practised in those countries. According to his thirteenth annual report on the subject there were, in March, 1898, school savings banks in ten States and seventy-six cities, and nearly 42,000 pupils had saved more than half a million dollars.

Another system of savings is known as the postal savings bank, under which persons may deposit small amounts at designated post-offices and receive a certificate therefor. The postal savings system is not new, having been established in nearly every country in Europe, in the British dependencies, and even in Hawaii. In Great Britain alone there were at last accounts seven million depositors, having upward of five hundred and fifty millions of dollars in savings to their credit. In ten years ten thousand Hawaiian depositors saved nearly one million dollars. The system works with success in Canada. Some of the advantages which are claimed to result from the adoption of such a system are to be found in the growth of patriotic sentiment and good citizenship, as well as in the cultivation of habits of thrift and economy. Some of the disadvantages which it is claimed would result in the United States from the establishment of such a system are the depletion of the deposits in the ordinary savings banks and the difficulty of investing the accumulations, especially as it would be difficult for the Federal government to use the vast accumulations in business ways, as is now done by other savings institutions, thus withdrawing a vast amount of money from active participation in production and the conduct of business generally. The Honourable Postmaster-General has summed up the question very ably in his report for the year ending June, 1897, and his office is in possession of a vast amount of information relative to other countries.

165. Building and Loan Associations.

A class of savings institutions closely allied to savings banks are what are known as building and loan associations. This term is used in a general sense, although the institution itself is known under various names, such as mutual loan associations; homestead aid associations; savings, fund, and loan associations; co-operative banks, etc., but the object of such as take these or the general name of building and loan association is to furnish a safe means for the accumulation of savings, accompanied with an opportunity to secure money at reasonable rates for the purpose of building or purchasing homes. The association is a private corporation, designed for the accumulation of money by periodical payments, the accumulations to be invested from time to time in loans to the members of the association upon real estate which they may have purchased for occupancy. The borrowers pay interest and also a premium in order to secure as a loan the money which has accumulated through the periodical payments of the members; it is usually assigned to the member bidding the highest premium. The stated fees and all the revenues of an association form a common fund until such time as the payments and profits equal the face value of the shares outstanding at any particular time, when the assets, after the payment of all expenses and losses, are distributed *pro rata* among the members, in accordance with the number of their shares, and this distribution cancels the borrower's debt.

The methods of business of a building and loan association are somewhat complicated. Every member must be a stockholder. The difference between a stockholder in a building and loan association and one in an ordinary corporation lies in the fact that in the latter a member or stockholder buys his stock and pays for it, and usually is not called upon for any further payment. In a building and loan association the member or stockholder pays a stipulated minimum sum (say $1), when he takes his membership and buys a share of stock.

He then continues to pay a like sum each month until the aggregate of sums paid, increased by the profits, amounts to the maturing value of the stock (usually $200), when the stockholder is entitled to the full maturing value of the share, and surrenders the same.

The way in which a shareholder who desires to build a house, and has secured a lot for that purpose, may borrow money of an association of which he is a member is as follows: Ordinarily, a shareholder under this condition may borrow money from the association of which he is a member. Suppose a man who has secured his lot wishes to borrow $1,000 for the erection of a house. He must be the holder of five shares in his association, each share having as its maturing value $200; his five shares, therefore, when matured will be worth $1,000, the amount of money which he desires to borrow. To secure this $1,000, he gives the association a mortgage on his property and pledges his five shares of stock. To cancel this debt he is constantly paying his regular dues and one dollar per share extra, until such time as the constant payment, plus the accumulation of profits through compounded interest, matures the shares at $200 each. At this time, then, he surrenders his shares, and the debt upon his property is cancelled. Associations may loan to others than parties desiring to build a home when the demand for home loans is not sufficient to absorb the funds on hand; and members are not required to borrow from the association, but may make their payments and withdraw the proceeds (principal and interest) at maturity.

The growth of these associations in the United States has been very rapid since 1840, their accumulated assets increasing to an enormous amount. Although they do a semi-banking business, and are conducted by men not trained as bankers, they have been fairly successful. According to the latest statistics on the subject, the total number of building and loan associations in the country, estimated on annual statements of all such associations in 1893, probably amounts to 6,000, with nearly 2,000,000 shareholders, and with total dues paid in on

shares and accrued profits amounting to probably more than $650,000,000. A business represented by this great sum, conducted quietly, with little or no advertising and on a basis of very light expenses, shows that the common people, in their own ways, are quite competent to take care of their savings. Up to 1893 the number of failures was very small; in that year only 35 of the associations then in existence showed a loss, and that amounted to only a little over $23,000. Disbandment and a winding up of the concern usually does not mean loss, because the whole business of the association consists of its loans, and these loans are to its own shareholders, as a rule, who hold the securities in their associated form. A disbanded association, therefore, simply returns to its own members their own property.

Some States of the Union exercise supervision over building and loan associations by bringing them under the general supervision of laws relating to savings banks; in other States nothing is officially known of building and loan associations beyond the formalities of their incorporation. As they come more and more under general supervision, their safety is increased and their usefulness expanded. In some parts of the country, particularly in the West, the business has been organised on a great scale, with parent and branch offices, loans being made by distant and often inexperienced managers; the result in many cases was loss and lack of confidence. There is no reason, however, why these great associations should not succeed when properly managed.

166. Insurance and Mutual Benefit Associations.

All associations created for the purpose of securing to their members some benefit on account of sickness, accident, loss of work, or other cause, or to the widow and heirs of the member, are practically insurance companies or associations; that is, they embody the principle of insurance, varying the form of the benefit to be derived by the payment of dues.

A life insurance company, as such, undertakes simply to pay

the heirs of the insured a certain amount of money on the death of the member or insured person, or to pay a certain amount of money after the payment of premiums for a stipulated number of years. There are many forms of policies issued by insurance companies, but the principle of all of them is practically the same. Accident insurance companies undertake to pay a certain amount, as agreed, when the insured person meets with any accident which incapacitates him from pursuing his usual calling, or, in case of death, a stipulated amount to the heirs or representatives of the deceased. In the mutual associations dues are paid and the members are entitled to stipulated benefits under certain contingencies. They may receive benefits during their lives, according to the terms of the by-laws of the association and the agreements entered into thereunder, as in the case of sickness, accident, loss of work, or otherwise. Life insurance proper and all the modifications of simple life insurance have conferred great benefits upon the insured when the companies or associations carrying on the business have been managed with integrity and financial ability. Whenever losses have occurred or the insured has found himself without insurance after a lapse of years, it has been through either mismanagement of the funds of the company or association or the attempt to insure at less than cost. The latter is the chief cause of failure among mutual associations; for the death rate cannot permanently be figured away by book-keepers, any more than can the cost of manufacturing pig-iron or any other commodity. A life insurance company does not do a savings-bank business, although under some policies there is to be found the element of savings.

A man by getting his life insured in a financially sound company may secure great benefit therefrom, or at least may secure great benefits for his heirs in case of early decease; that is, he may pay but one premium, and if he should die before the next premium is due, his heirs would be entitled to the amount stated in the policy. Then, again, he may live

long enough to pay to the insurance company as much as or more than his heirs will receive at his death. Insurance means an equalisation of burdens; those who die early pay in but little, while those who are fortunate enough to live to old age pay in very much more. Their benefit is in living, and thus the burden of care is equalised. It is purely a co-operative undertaking in the broadest sense of the word.

It is precisely the same with fire insurance. The man who insures his house pays his premium; and if it does not burn he considers himself fortunate, although he has expended his premium. Should his house burn, if he is honest he is less fortunate, for a policy may recoup his money loss *pro tanto*, but seldom reimburses him for the interruption and vexation. The principle of fire insurance is that all persons whose houses do not burn can afford to lose the premium for the sake of recouping the man whose house does take fire.

In life insurance the insured is more sensitive in regard to the expense, and he feels that, although he may be insured a number of years, if his insurance ceases he has in some way been cheated, when the fact is that he has had all the insurance for which he has paid, and the only disadvantage to him is that he is older and cannot reinsure at the same rates which were allowed him at an earlier age. This feature does not obtain in fire insurance. Notwithstanding this, all life insurance must be considered as an element of savings, for it induces one to exercise frugality and keep up his policy, that his family may not be left without means by sudden death; and in all properly conducted business the premium is more than the actual risk, so as to accumulate a fund for the later continuance of the policy; this excess is a saving, and in all good policies may be drawn out if the policy is surrendered. It is, on the whole, a most beneficient application of the principles of co-operation. The millions that are paid out testify to the popularity of the institution; the hundreds of millions invested to meet death claims show what provision the foresighted are making for the future of those dependent on them.

Insurance certainly tends to the upbuilding of social well-being, for it relieves the insured of a very unpleasant anxiety relative to the condition of his family should sickness and death overtake him.

The vastness of the business is comprehended when we consider the money values involved. January 1, 1898, according to the Insurance Year-Book, the assets of what are known as regular level premium companies amounted to nearly thirteen hundred and fifty thousand millions, while the payments to policy-holders for the year, including losses, dividends, surrenders, etc., amounted to nearly 140 millions of dollars. The number of policies in force was over 10 millions, the amount carried in them being nearly 6⅓ billion dollars. In addition to this, the assessment companies and mutual benefit orders had assets of more than 62½ millions of dollars, paid to policy-holders over 73 millions, and had insurance in force amounting to nearly 8 billions, held by over 4 million members. The United States leads all countries in the world in the amount of insurance carried by its people, the total in this country being nearly 14 billions; in Great Britain, over three billions and a quarter; in Germany, over 1 billion 300 millions, and in France, about 700 millions.

CHAPTER XVIII.

POVERTY.

167. References.

Charles Booth, *Labour and Life of the People;* H. M. Boies, *Prisoners and Paupers;* J. A. Hobson, *Problems of Poverty;* A. G. Warner, *American Charities* (1894); Henry George, *Progress and Poverty;* reports of State Boards of Charity; United States Eleventh Census (1890), *Report on Crime, Pauperism, and Benevolence* (especially § 169); Helen Campbell, *Prisoners of Poverty;* J. A. Riis, *Children of the Poor;* Florence Davenport Hill and Fannie Fowke, *Children of the State;* Helen Campbell, *The Child and the Community,* in *Chautauquan,* IX. 458 (May, 1889); National Conference of Charities and Corrections, *Proceedings at Twentieth Conference* (Chicago, June, 1893; Reports on Child Saving and the Public Treatment of Pauperism); E. C. Wines, *State of Prisons and of Child-Saving Institutions; Charities Review* (New York); Jane Addams, *The Subtle Problems of Charity,* in *Atlantic Monthly,* LXXXIII. 163 (Feb., 1899).

168. Causes of Poverty.

With all the opportunities for the accumulation of wealth, both for the nation and for the people individually, millions have little or no accumulation; yet it must be admitted that the poverty of the present day is not the misery of the past. Present poverty may seem, relatively, more intensified, on account of the increase in wealth in general; for the poor man makes slower progress out of his poverty than the man with some accumulation out of straitened circumstances. Nevertheless, considering the actual conditions of life on the poorest scale of civilised life, all the facts point to the conclusion that this is the age most favourable to the poor.

Many of the causes of poverty are inherent in human nature; the most frequent and most hopeless is the lack of ability or

equipment, of capacity to do something fairly well. A smaller number come to want from prodigality, intemperance, misfortunes of various kinds. There are many collateral causes, such as refusal to work when work is offered, or the lack of employment when one is willing to work, or the ambition, beyond one's capacity or means, to rise out of distasteful environment, or the unequal effects of accident, or, in too many cases, what may be called sentimental charity. Intemperance is often set forth as the chief cause of poverty, and it undoubtedly is responsible for a very large amount of suffering and want; yet a careful study leads one to the conclusion that intemperance is quite as often the result of poverty as poverty the result of intemperance.

The industrial system, because of the eager demand for skill and intelligence, often crowds the incompetent man to the wall temporarily; for competition is now rather mental than physical, and the man who cannot comply with modern demands for mental activity becomes, in common parlance, a left-over man. Industry has developed faster than the individual in such cases, and he finds it difficult, if not impossible, to keep up with the progress. The life of the ordinary labourer prior to the establishment of the factory was almost universally one of poverty. Under the modern system the life of the wage-earner is almost universally, especially in this country, one of fair comfort; certainly he does not live in such squalor and penury as that of his predecessors.

It seems a paradox, though it is true, that wealth makes the community seem poor. The general increase of intelligence is such that people recognise the degradation of a poverty-stricken community; most people to-day have a keen sense of bad conditions; and the growth of the altruistic sentiment, the belief that the strong must help the weak, causes poverty to become a demoralising stigma on a community where it exists. In feudal times all except the nobles and the merchants lived in what we should call abject poverty. There was no opportunity for the peasant to rise, no opportunity to acquire

property; the man was a serf, and his family occupied the position of the children of serfs. To-day any poor man with capacity may rise; in fact, if he has capacity he will not live in poverty. So that to be very poor often marks the man who cannot avail himself of the opportunity to rise from his environment. We are led to make comparisons unjust to the present by not recognising this fact. The idea that poverty belongs to or is an inevitable accompaniment of industrial prosperity and the accumulation of what may be, in general terms, called riches, is erroneous. Civilisation has its residuum, but without civilisation there would be no residuum, because no nobler element; hence the higher the standard of civilised communities the more apparent and the more abhorrent does poverty become. The study of sociology in its broader sense goes into the origin of such elements in society, and brings out the lesson that civilisation is not responsible for poverty; that if it cannot raise all above the old level of helpless want, it does raise many in all countries, and multitudes in America.

169. Pauperism and Relief.

Poverty means a state of partial destitution. It is hard to be without the things which one wishes to have, to live in such straitened circumstances that one must count every penny and exercise the strictest and even the most painful frugality. Pauperism is or should be a destitution so great that life is maintained only by dependence upon others. The pauper, therefore, is the ward of society, or of benevolently disposed friends. The public everywhere undertakes to relieve pauperism, either by complete support or through partial relief.

There is much controversy over the question as to whether the number of paupers in any given community tends under modern conditions to increase or to decrease. If we turn to England the facts are very apparent that during the past quarter or half century the poor budget has been greatly diminished relatively. Pauperism is decreasing in a marked degree. As is shown in the trustworthy British statistics, the

number of paupers, indoor and outdoor, exclusive of vagrants, in receipt of relief in the several unions and parishes under boards of guardians in England and Wales on January 1, 1895, was 817,431, while on January 1, 1897, the number was 824,362, a relative decrease. In Scotland the number of poor of all classes in parishes in receipt of relief January 1, 1879, was 37,748, but in January, 1895, the number had decreased to 33,611.

In this country the Federal statistics are very incomplete, and relate only to indoor paupers, the ratio of these to the population being shown in the following table:

Sex, Nativity, and Colour.	Number of Indoor Paupers.					Ratios to 1,000,000 of Population.				
	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Male . . .	. .	. .	. .	35,564	40,741	. .	. .	. .	1,394	1,270
Female . .	. .	. .	. .	30,639	32,304	. .	. .	. .	1,244	1,057
Native Born .	36,916	50,483	53,939	43,236	44,626	1,765	1,849	1,635	994	836
Foreign Born	13,437	32,459	22,798	22,967	28,419	5,986	7,843	4,095	3,438	3,072
White . . .	. .	. .	67,337	60,486	66,578	. .	. .	2,005	1,394	1,211
Coloured . .	. .	. .	9,400	5,717	6,467	. .	. .	1,928	847	847
Total . .	50,353	82,942	76,737	66,203	73,045	2,171	2,638	1,990	1,320	1,166

In later censuses there has been a transference of insane poor and some other classes from the ranks of what are called indoor paupers, which would vitiate in some degree the value of the foregoing statistics; nevertheless, they are fairly indicative of improving conditions.

It is a matter for congratulation that the computed ratio dropped from a little over one pauper in almshouses to each five hundred of the population in 1850, to a little over one in each thousand in 1890.

Another large class of persons relieved by the public are the outdoor paupers, most of whom have a little income of some

sort, or a subsidy from friends. For their numbers we must have recourse to State statistics, and those for Massachusetts are most available,[1] and offer a comparison for the longest period of time. The table in the note is reconstructed from the tables as reported by the State authorities.[2]

[1] Massachusetts Board of State Charities, *Report*, 1896–7.

[2] Number of Paupers per 1000 of Population in the Cities and Towns of Massachusetts at the Census Years, 1880–1895.

Years.	Number of Paupers Fully Supported per 1000 of Population.	Number of Paupers Partially Supported per 1000 of Population.	Aggregate Number of Paupers Supported per 1000 of Population.	Number of Cases of Vagrancy per 1000 of Population.
1879–1880 . .	3.49	10.31	13.80	86.46
1884–1885 . .	3.88	9.00	12.88	67.97
1889–1890 . .	3.85	6.85	10.70	69.81
1894–1895 . .	3.93	8.97	12.90	115.49

Average Number of Indoor Poor per 1000 of Population in Massachusetts at the Census Years, 1865–1895.

Years.	Number of State Poor in Almshouses per 1000 of Population.	Number of City and Town Poor in Almshouses per 1000 of Population.
1865	2.04	2.28
1870	1.33	1.89
1875	1.32	1.74
1880	1.25	2.07
1885	1.23	2.19
1890	1.05	2.02
1895	1.19	1.95

Number of State and City and Town Poor Partially Supported per 1000 of Population in Massachusetts at the Census Years, 1880–1895.

Years.	Number of City and Town Poor Partially Supported per 1000 of Population.	Number of State Poor Partially Supported per 1000 of Population.
1880	33.04	7.85
1885	28.65	8.75
1890	20.32	7.37
1895	28.10	7.51

From one point of view the Massachusetts statements are very satisfactory. The proportion of the State poor in almshouses, and also of city and town poor in almshouses, shows a nearly constant decrease from 1865 to 1895.

The partially supported or outdoor paupers present a more serious problem, because they include many who might earn their own living if properly directed, and a good number of impostors; the reduction in this class is most encouraging, taking the two categories together. The aggregate number of paupers supported per one thousand of the population appears to have dropped from 13.8 in 1879–80 to 12.9 in 1894–95. Considering the imperfections of the statistics, there is no cause for rejoicing in this exhibit. An actual increase is shown in the number of cases of vagrancy per one thousand, but the conditions of vagrancy are peculiar; sometimes tramps frequent one State and avoid a neighbouring State, for no reason known to cleanly people, except that law makes it dangerous in one and not in the other.

170. Organised Charities.

In all large cities there are many organisations, especially churches and benevolent associations, having for their object the relief of persons who are ostensibly worthy of care, and who have not reached the condition where they can be considered as paupers. Great abuses, however, grew up under this method of almsgiving; for there is a class of professional malingerers, who seek aid of various societies at the same time, and thus secure a very good support, and even a comfortable income. A very striking illustration of this occurred in an Eastern city a few years ago, where a man, ostensibly a disabled soldier, was collecting funds to enable him to purchase an artificial leg. A gentleman became interested in his case and looked up his history and experience, and found that he had collected over $60,000 for the particular purpose named in his papers. Such abuses have led to the system usually known as "The Associated Charities," under which all the organisa-

tions devoted to charity agree or ought to agree to have their protégés registered under one central head. By systematic visitation and inspection many of the old abuses have been prevented, and it is the aim of the visitors to aid the needy to find ways of caring for themselves. It is impossible to state the amount of money used and the value of assistance rendered by the charity organisations of the country, but it must be many millions of dollars annually.

Of late years it has been questioned whether any good commensurate with the effort is being accomplished by organisations working independently of the Associated Charities, or by indiscriminate charity. Beggary prospers chiefly because it is profitable, and charity organisations to some extent help to perpetuate the evil. Investigations have shown that a very large percentage of the beggars and most of the regular tramps are such from choice rather than from necessity. Nevertheless, the charity organisations find enough to do among a class of people that society does not wish to have become public charges. The noblest work that charity has to do is to furnish the temporary assistance essential to bridge over misfortune and restore the recipient of aid to self-supporting conditions, and in this direction it will always find sufficient activity. Simple almsgiving ought never to be the purpose of charity organisations.

There are many who believe that all such work should be conducted by the State; that instead of seeking subscriptions from individuals, thus levying a special tax upon those who are generously disposed, the property of the entire community should be taxed not only for the support of the very needy, like paupers, but for the assistance of those who are thrown out of employment, or who have met with misfortune of any kind. There is much in this view, so far as justice and equity are concerned, but the sensibilities of the people will not allow certain classes of needy persons to become the objects of public charge in any way. As already stated, under Compulsory Insurance (ch. xiv.), some countries are endeavour-

ing to reduce the charity charge upon the public through the methods of insurance against sickness, old age, etc. The experiment is going on; the results will be watched with great interest. At present they have not been carried to such extent as to warrant a positive conclusion as to the better method of providing assistance for the needy.

While it has been alleged — and the doctrine is generally accepted — that indiscriminate almsgiving pauperises not only individuals but classes of individuals in the community, this is in no sense a charge against altruism, but simply indicates that altruistic action should be undertaken with discretion, in order to avoid the demoralisation which comes from receiving something for nothing. When a great number of persons are fed or supported at public expense, or even given temporary aid, their general public consciences are weakened, and they are more apt to seek such aid when the circumstances do not really warrant its bestowal.

171. Child Saving.

Perhaps the most beneficent purpose which any organisation can have is that of saving children from a lifetime of misery and want and crime. For many adult persons assistance in any form can do but little good beyond the temporary relief of necessities, but the child subjected to unhealthy and unhappy surroundings may be saved, and its life turned into honourable and self-supporting conditions. This attractive form of benevolence has caused societies to be organised everywhere, for the purpose of taking the child out of a miserable environment into a moral and healthful atmosphere.

The Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children have done much in the way of inducing parents to treat their offspring tenderly, while other organisations, especially the Children's Aid Societies, take them out of the slums of cities, give them the benefits of good care, education, and fairly generous treatment. They are placed on farms and in homes where, perhaps, the husband and wife have not been blessed

with children, and thus they are brought into contact with those who will see that their lives are protected. All such measures are for children whose tendencies are in the right direction; for those who are vicious to any degree public reform schools have been established. These are not penal institutions in any sense; yet a vicious boy or girl may be sent to them under legal processes such as do not bring that degradation which accompanies a sentence to a prison. In the reform schools they are taught to work, and are given the rudiments of education. When the time comes that a child sent to one of these schools is able to go out into the world, a place is found for him where he may support himself and continue a life of regularity and responsibility. Very many children are thus saved and brought to good citizenship rather than left in their old surroundings, where the tendencies are all evil.

The inmates of juvenile reformatories in the United States numbered 11,468 in 1880, the ratio being 229 to each million of the population; in 1890, under stricter systems of supervision, the number was 14,846, a ratio of only 237. This is a very satisfactory showing, not only on account of the small absolute number of juvenile offenders, but of the small relative increase.

Homeless children have been the subject of care not only through private benefactions, but through public effort, and the establishments where they can be brought and secure many of the amenities of home life are numerous and their results of vast magnitude to the welfare of the community. Kindergartens are doing a great work in the processes of child-saving, as pointed out under the discussion of kindergartens as a method of educating very young children.

All these institutions relating to child-saving, of whatever character, prevent the increase of the criminal and pauper classes and are an honour to civilisation. As people grow more sensitive in such matters, the benefits are increased and a still larger number brought under their influences.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE RELATION OF ART TO SOCIAL WELL-BEING.

172. References.

Isaac Edwards Clark, *Art and Industry;* U. S. Commissioner of Education, *Report* (1885), Parts I., II.; Benjamin Butterworth, *The Growth of Industrial Art* (published by Act of Congress of March 3, 1886); Ruskin, *Political Economy of Art; Editorials on Public Art in American Cities*, and *Popular Art in Belgium*, in *Municipal Affairs*, II. 1, 14 (March, 1898); Marie C. Remick, *The Relation of Art to Morality*, in *Arena*, XIX. 483 (April, 1898); Myra B. Martin, *Art Education in American Life*, in *Journal of Social Science*, XXX. 12 (October, 1892); Carroll D. Wright, *The Practical Value of Art*, in *Munsey's Magazine*, XVII. 562 (July, 1897).

173. Art and Ethics.

"A talent for any art is rare; but it is given to nearly every one to cultivate a taste for art; only it must be cultivated with earnestness. The more things thou learnest to know and to enjoy, the more complete and full will be for thee the delight of living." So speaks the German artist-poet Platen; this sentence gives the gist of the whole discussion of the relation of art to social well-being. Well-being may be defined as a state of life which secures, or tends toward, happiness; it comprehends physical as well as moral welfare. Social well-being, therefore, means a state of life which best fits one for society, for companionship with one's fellows. Friendly relations must be regarded, and all the fine instincts of men subserved, as also their capacity, not merely to enjoy themselves in high and pure ways, but to bring the highest and purest enjoyment to those with whom they mingle. In other words, social well-being means social morality, and this can be secured only by the practice of the purest ethics, the laws of right living.

So the relation of art to social well-being resolves itself at once into certain simple questions. Does art, in any of its forms, stimulate ethical conduct? Does it induce the moral state that is essential to happy relations in society? Does it awaken slumbering possibilities? Does it induce intellectual activity? Does it bring members of society to realise that deep, true religious life, which, after all, concerns happiness more than any other one element, by teaching love to our neighbours, by making sacrifice easy, by stirring the soul to the loftiest contemplation of creative power? Do Raphael's Madonnas inspire right motives? Does the Robert Shaw monument tend to make heroes? Is the great Liberty statue in New York harbour an aid to upright democracy? In short, does art help to make the true man and the true woman?

These questions must be considered from a sociological standpoint, comprehending the whole range of art as it centres into the industries and the amenities of life. We must keep in view the idea that it is in man's spiritual nature, as it is now expressing itself in his social activities, that the true relation of art to social well-being is to be found; for we must conclude that art has its positive influence not only in developing character, but in making life sweeter, better, and more useful.

174. Art and Industry.

This influence is shown, too, in the application of art to industry. It is there that we recognise the power of the industrial arts in fitting men for social relationship. The average life is influenced quite as much by the industrial arts as by any of the creations of purely artistic genius; the genius of production makes itself felt in pretty calicoes, neat oil-cloths, and companionable paper-hangings; in fact, in the ordinary, every-day energy which animates the great manufacturing, mechanical, and engineering pursuits, there is an embodiment of the highest genius, which has a moral influence, and at times something even beyond this, — an influence that may be called religious in its bearing.

One need not discuss the distinctions of creative or imaginative art, for all things in art which in any sense stimulate innocent emotion are good in themselves and beneficial in their influences, whether an etching of Whistler's, or "A Yard of Roses." There is nothing progressive that does not come from some form of art, or from some expression of the creative power.

Every work of creative art is a revelation of divine beauty; hence it is of the deepest significance to religion, and to every element of social well-being. Even the lowest forms of artistic expression, so long as they embody art ideas at all, are beneficial. Especially among the common people is this true. The cheap prints that adorn the humblest homes, even the rude portraits cut from newspapers, have an uplifting influence, and must be considered as positive evidence of the existence of an aspiration to something better.

The line of march from savage existence to civilised life is marked all along the way with progressive developments of art ideas. When the savage adorns himself with ornaments, no matter how crude, even to the tattooed painting of the most barbarous man, he is giving evidence of an aspiration after the beautiful. The deer and mammoth of the cave-dweller incised on his uncracked marrow-bone show that he took delight in trying to represent the movements of animals. No matter how rude or ugly his work may appear to the cultivated taste, to the savage it is art and beauty, and he fancies that he is making himself more presentable, more attractive, in the eyes of his fellows. It is the infantile expression of the inherent love of art, and we find the foundation of all art when the savage expresses this inherent love in the adornment of his person, in the colours of his coarse blanket, in the pictures on the bark walls of his hut, or in the ornamentation upon the head of his weapon.

These expressions of the savage take the form of industrial as well as of creative art. Advancing along the line of dawning civilisation, we find crude images of the individual,

made, perhaps, to serve as reminders of friends, or to perpetuate the conceited barbarian's idea of his own physical perfection. Music, too, the purest of all fine arts, has its beginning in the same natural instinct.

175. Art and the People.

Cheap reproductions of works of art help to educate and beautify the lives of the masses of the people. The writer happened once in a car to sit beside a girl whose coarse clothing and rough hands indicated that she came from the shops. Her whole attention, however, was engaged in studying a popular magazine, and it was impossible to refrain from watching her face and learning the subject which was attracting her; she was reading an article relative to some of the great works of our best artists, and studying the engravings which accompanied it. At the cost of a dime, she was bringing into her life, at the close of her day's labour, the company of the world's greatest artistic geniuses. She was forgetting her hard lot, and drinking in some of the inspiration which enables the artist to bring forth his highest creation; she was ennobling her own mind by the ennobling influences of the work of others; she was fitting herself to insist that in her own home surroundings there should be something to cheer, to attract, and to inspire; and could she have been followed to that home, there would have been found some evidences of art production, cheap and possibly common, but nevertheless a sure indication of the existence, in her own soul, of an aspiration after something higher than the drudgery which she was compelled to follow.

How far the appreciation of architecture may be developed, is shown by the little boy who was told of some of the fine buildings in foreign countries. "Oh, I know just how they look," said he; "tell me about the folks." It was a fact that he already knew the beauty of the Houses of Parliament; he knew the shape and form of St. Paul's and Notre Dame; he knew the Rialto and the palaces of Venice. This knowledge of the architecture of the world had come to him through

cheap reproductions, the results of an inventive art which brings to the commonest understanding the beauties of the world.

Another example shows the commercial value of a beautiful form in the commonest things. A few years ago, a stove manufacturer paid a well-known sculptor five thousand dollars to design a kitchen stove; he was obliged to meet the popular demand in the production of his goods, and found that his stoves must be of a pattern that would not offend the eye of the day labourer. It was a striking evidence of the growth of artistic taste among the masses of our people.

In foreign countries the national and the municipal governments spend great sums in erecting things of beauty, — statues of celebrated men, public buildings decorated with costly designs. Cities like Nuremberg and Genoa take pride in their beautiful mediæval buildings, and try to make new structures conform to the old. A dealer in electric goods in Germany was refused permission to put a bracket to hold a wire on a certain building because his bracket was in the Renaissance style and the building was Gothic. In the United States, governments rarely interfere with private architecture, but in their public buildings they shape public taste for something beyond the carpenter's architecture which we find in rural regions, or the plain painting of the ordinary building. It teaches us to demand that our libraries, capitols, public halls, and churches shall be works of art. If one result is seen in the monotonous domed State capitols, on the model of the Capitol at Washington, another result is seen in such structures as the Boston Public Library, the Corcoran Art Gallery, the county buildings of Pittsburg, and that most magnificent of all buildings of its kind in this or any land, the new Congressional Library at Washington. It is such examples that make the common man insist that if he is to purchase a kitchen stove, it shall be artistic.

176. Art and Social Unrest.

The "common man" is a frequent character in these pages, because the social unrest of the present time hinges upon this very development of the masses through the presence of educational forces, among which we must reckon art in every form, including music. The demands of the wage-earner of to-day are not for subsistence only, as formerly; but through the influence of civilisation, as represented by education, as stimulated by invention, as fostered by art, the demand is for spiritualising influences beyond and above the mere necessaries of existence.

It is this demand, more than any other cause, which brings the social unrest or the discontent of the present time. A wise Providence makes none of us content with our condition. Safety is to be found only through the knowledge that we are going forward, that we are progressing, that we possess higher aspirations. Discontent means the desire for higher things, it means the growing demands of labour, it means the moving spirit of progress everywhere. Without it the world would stand still; with it the world moves on, and humanity is ever securing higher and nobler standards of living. The boys and girls in the cottages of the country people who hear of the triumphs of architecture, or of the world of art, become restless and, in a sense, discontented. So some pessimist, who sees no utility in art beyond its commercial value, who loves not music and the beautiful, may ask, "Do not these aspirations result in unhappiness, in the reverse of social well-being, in dangerous discontent?" No; it is a divine discontent, broadening all the attributes of man, fitting him for better and greater achievements, and bringing him out of a contentment which simply means inaction and inertness; it is such discontent as drove the Greeks to stretch to the utmost the artistic powers of the human mind, so that they might surpass all the former works of their own race; it was such discontent that made mediæval man pull down his old churches and build the splendid cathedrals.

Life is better with these things, even from the militarian point of view, for they stimulate industry, and industry and prosperity are military potentialities. They stimulate employment of the mind, which is an essential to good morals. They lessen the toil and increase the comfort of existence, by removing the dross, the dull labor, the repetitive drudgery, — that is, by calling the most application, the best intellectual effort. If it were not so, continued employment at crude, muscular labor would be the very best for mankind. Something spiritual must enter into our every-day life, or we are savages.

When Mr. Pullman built the town named after him, now a part of Chicago, he beautified the place with parks and artistic surroundings. When asked if he proposed to help his tenants in the adornment of their dwellings, he said, "No; if a family moves in with old, tumble-down furniture, they soon see the incongruity of their home adornments in comparison with the adornments around them; and," he went on, "I have noticed that soon they begin to arrange their affairs in harmony with the place itself." By this means his employees and their families were trained to an appreciation of artistic things, and were enabled to live cleaner and more wholesome lives.

177. Art in Invention

Invention and the development of the industrial arts have raised those coming under their influence to a higher intellectual level, to a more comprehensive understanding of all that makes for the best culture. Every new machine marks some progress in useful art, and it usually embodies something more than mere utility. There is a beauty in the rhythmic movement of great forces in harness that has a reflex action upon the beholder; for there is nothing more impressive than the sight of mighty mechanical constructions. The engines of a great mine have some of the same effect of prodigious might which one feels at Niagara. The highest creative art enters into such construction, — not the art, it may be, that paints a grand picture or decorates a cathedral, but an art that be-

speaks no less clearly the divine attributes of the mind that conceived it. A ten-thousand-ton steamship, a tenth of a mile in length, moving over and through the water, is an example of what is meant. When we behold it, we are taught something of omnipotent power, of the all-pervading intelligence which swings the planets through their orbits; we have a better realisation of the supreme mechanism of the universe, for we witness the working of laws that have been comprehended and applied. One modern poet, Rudyard Kipling, has understood the intellectual force of great engines, and he makes wood, steel, and steam chant symphonies.

A few years ago, after Walter Smith had been applying his art principles in this country, there appeared in the shop windows of some of our Eastern cities a display of novel designs in carpets, and the proprietor, on being asked whence they came, stated that they were from some of the American schools of design. Here, again, artistic development had accomplished something toward beautifying the homes of the common people. The rich can always secure the very best and most beautiful coverings for their floors. The poor desire to imitate the rich, but for them there must be designs worked out in such a way that they can be obtained at a reasonable price. And this is not the only benefit of such an industrial departure; people engaged in artistic manufactures are employed in occupations of a higher grade; their wages are increased; their standard of living is raised proportionately, and their social well-being is enhanced.

If industry to-day had nothing more to do than the furnishing of the simple necessaries of human life it would have little field for expansion, and would offer meagre opportunities for employment. Life would be a burden, so dull and monotonous would it be. Trade, as we understand it, would cease, and commerce become a thing practically unknown. But industry flourishes because it is not limited to the production of things that are needed for food, raiment, and shelter. It is because art has come in to increase the wants of the race that

trade and commerce flourish. Art carries industry beyond our actual wants, and calls upon it to supply those things which make for social progress. The future expansion of industry and of commerce, the future elevation in the character of the employment of all classes, the increase of their earning capacity, the opportunity of increasing the standard of their environment, — all these depend upon the cultivation of the industrial arts.

178. Art as a Source of Wealth.

Looking beyond this, industrial art is a source of wealth. Fine art itself is a wealth producer. The payment of ten or fifty thousand dollars for a painting enriches the community in which the artist lives. There has been something added in the way of treasure to a country's assets by the productions of its artistic genius. The very presence of great pictures is a local benefit. Take the Sistine Madonna from Dresden, rob Paris of the Louvre, despoil London of its National Gallery or Antwerp of its Rubens collection, take the Art Museum out of Boston, destroy the galleries which are growing up so richly in our Western cities, and we have depreciated the commercial value of all these places far beyond the selling price of the pictures.

Industrial art and a thorough appreciation of the fine arts enable the community that cultivates them to compete successfully with the community that neglects them. All these things — the expansion of industry, the commercial importance of art, the knowledge of its real value — certainly contribute, and largely, too, to the well-being of the individual. The rich, by their generous contributions in establishing art galleries, are doing something more than building monuments to themselves; they are offering to the poor man the means of improving the leisure earned by his hard labour, and giving him an opportunity to find cultured occupation.

179. Public Art.

The action of municipal governments in the establishment of parks, museums, libraries, and in providing public concerts are all efforts in the direction of the cultivation of artistic taste. These things are provided for the poorest citizen; every person may enjoy them; they are public property, and the public holds the title. The advance which a city or a town has made in the highest artistic sense can be gauged by its parks and museums, while its appreciation of those means which make for the best intellectual attainment can be gauged by its libraries. The establishment of these things may have a socialistic tendency, but they are for the good of all; and whatever there is of socialism connected with them does not weaken individual effort or the desire to succeed as an individual. They are the most potent educators which can be provided by the public for itself. The schools accomplish one thing; the works of beauty and of art, which are accessible to all, accomplish another. Tastes are refined, the best feelings are stimulated, and a loyal affection for public institutions created. The lives and sacrifices of men who have worked for the welfare of their kind are made daily and constant lessons to all observers. These things supplement and oftentimes are more powerful than the school in stimulating intellectual endeavour.

In the old countries the public galleries of art have been of positive economic value; they teach history, they illustrate romance, they embody religious inspiration. We are lacking in public art galleries in this country. There are a few, and as a rule they are not free; nevertheless, their influence cannot be calculated. They offer healthful recreation of the highest character, and when the common people can have free access to them on all days of the week their influence will be far greater than at present. The man who works six days is entitled on the seventh to the highest things which his desires demand. The open parks, museums, and libraries, may be the places where such a one can be brought in contact with

the very best works of man and the most beautiful of nature. He may be too weary to sit through a service; but if he can peaceably occupy a place in a beautiful public park, listen to excellent music, visit a museum, or have access to works in a public library, he may thus avoid those places whose tendencies are evil and only evil.

The tendency of civilisation to-day, as men understand more what the development of society means, and are aware of the struggle which it has made to secure present development, is to open everything good at all reasonable times and on all days, and close everything that is bad all the time. The moral nature of man needs encouragement, and it can be encouraged by opening to him opportunities for the cultivation not only of his latent artistic tastes, but of his latent spiritual nature.

180. The Effect of Ugliness.

There is a reverse side to all this. If the sight of beautiful things is a stimulus, the habitual presence of foul and ill-shapen things is degrading. One of the mathematical studies in "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland" was "Uglification and Derision." The process of "uglifying," especially in this country, goes on steadily, through the construction of unsightly roads, streets, railways, telegraph appliances, and signs. Nothing is more hopelessly ugly, stupefying, and repulsive than a bank of earth, especially when disfigured with old cans or surfaced with cinders. Nature herself has such a prejudice against mere dirt that she covers with green any slope that will hold grass; but men often leave railway cuttings and embankments irregular, ungrassed slopes, although in recent years, following European customs, much has been done to beautify the surroundings of stations, and prizes are often offered for the most artistic display of flowers and arrangement of grounds. Telegraph wires may be a picturesque element in a landscape, but the confused tangle which disfigures many cities and towns is nothing but uglification. Dirty streets are not only very inartistic, but they strike at the foundation of morality, for they

violate the principles of order and cleanliness. No public service is more important than that performed in some country places by "village improvement societies," through whose efforts the tidying up of the public highways in their near neighbourhood is secured; they interest the public in setting out shade and ornamental trees, and thus bring beauty and order where ugliness and disorder prevailed. The artistic sense of the people is often offended by the modern custom of painting signs on fences, buildings, and rocks, and no matter how picturesque the advertisement may be, it mars the beauty of the scenery. The putting of all telegraph, fire, and telephone wires underground, the adornment of streets and highways, the beautifying of the surroundings of railway stations, are all adjuncts in the way of removing crude ugliness, and have great influence in developing the æsthetic taste of the people.

CHAPTER XX.

ARE THE RICH GROWING RICHER AND THE POOR POORER?

181. References.

United States Eleventh Census, *Report on Wealth, Debt, and Taxation;* Senate Committee on Finance, *Report on Wholesale Prices, Wages, and Transportation*, in *Senate Reports*, 52d Congress, 2d session, No. 1394; Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics* (ed. 1890), 182; Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labour, *Sixteenth Annual Report* (1885), Parts III., IV.; Alex. Wylie, *Labour, Leisure, and Luxury;* Abraham Lincoln, *Works*, II. 502 (speech to workingmen); Charles B. Spahr, *The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States;* Freeman Otis Willey, *The Laborer and the Capitalist*, Part II. ch. iii.; Lester F. Ward, *Dynamic Sociology* (2d ed.), I. 519; Carroll D. Wright, *Are the Rich Growing Richer and the Poor Poorer?* in *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXX. 300 (Sept., 1897).

182. Industry and Wealth.

The consideration of the various features which relate to social well-being — the accumulation of wealth, the cultivation of the artistic sense, and the poverty and pauperism which accompany the evolution of society — leads to the query whether, as is often asserted, the rich are really growing richer and the poor poorer. The position is often taken that under our modern system of industry vast fortunes are accumulated at the expense of the relatively poor, but such assertions are made without a philosophical understanding of what industry really is. To paraphrase an expression of Reybaud, in his "Le Coton," it is a sad law, perhaps, but an invariable one, that industry in its march takes no account of the positions it overturns nor of the distinctions it modifies. We must keep step with its progress or be left upon the road. It always accomplishes its work, which is to make better goods at a lower

price, to supply more wants, and also those of a better order, and to secure for men greater comforts and conveniences, not with regard for any class, but having in view the whole human race. Industry is this, or it is not industry. True to its instincts, it has no sentiment, unless it is for its own interest; and yet such is the harmony of things when they are abandoned to their natural course, notwithstanding the selfishness of industry directed to its own good, that it turns finally to secure the good of all, and while requiring service for itself, it serves others at the same time by virtue of its resources and its power. This "law" is then only a restatement of the familiar principle that in industry a man cannot benefit himself without also giving other people a chance to benefit themselves. The sewing-machine manufacturers made an immense fortune, but the machine added to the resources of every purchaser of a machine and of every buyer of clothing.

An examination of wages, the standard of living, the working time, cost of living, education, the interest in religion, literature, art, and all things concerning the common man, leads to the conclusion that the industrial situation has more to do with social conditions than has any other factor. The complex organisation of industry contains in itself the moral, intellectual, psychological, and physiological elements, which are the essential factors of human life, and so the most essential factors in ethics and in social organisms. Here, then, we must look for the chief elements which result in social unrest as well as in social well-being.

The alleged causes of unrest, taken together, make a kaleidoscopic mass, ever shifting with every turn of industrial status, one colour predominating, and then another. Two centuries ago the farmers were the best-recompensed class in the country; a century ago it was the shipowners; now it is the manufacturers. It is but natural, then, that men assert at times that the industrial system offers opportunities for the exploitation of one class for the benefit of another, and out of this attitude grows the assertion that the rich are growing richer and the poor

poorer, — an assertion which for some reason has taken very complete possession of the popular mind. The doctrine is a false one, false in its premises and misleading in its influence; for it has so deceived the people as to develop a sharp and growing antagonism between those who do not prosper to the extent of their ambition and those who have carried the accumulation of wealth far beyond the reasonable ambition of any man. It must be admitted that there is no lack in the production of useful and necessary things; it may be held, however, that there is an inequality in the distribution of the products of industry, and upon an analysis of the various discussions which have been put forth, it is easily seen that it is this question of distribution which affects the popular mind. From any point of view, it must be held legitimate to question the justice of the distribution of wealth.

183. Wealth not Stationary.

We need not attempt to trace the origin of the assertion under consideration; it is a wandering phrase, without paternity or date; it is not authority but familiarity that has given it weight. To very many persons, who consider only one side of a proposition, it expresses the whole truth; to others, who examine superficially ethical and economical questions, it has some truth; to the investigator, who cares only for the truth itself, it is as a whole untrue, while one-half is true. To the investigator the real statement should be, The rich are growing richer; many more people than formerly are growing rich; and the poor are growing better off. If the sum total of wealth were stationary, any increase in the wealth of the rich would be an exploitation of the poor, and then it would be true that the poor are in poorer circumstances than formerly. But the sum total of wealth is not stationary; it increases with great rapidity, and while under this increase the capitalistic side secures a greater relative advantage than the wage-earner of the profits of production, the wage-earner secures an advantage which means the improvement of his condition. It has been

shown by private inquiry in New York and Boston that the largest estates fifty years ago constituted a much larger proportion of the total wealth of those cities than do the same number of large estates to-day. No official investigation in this direction has been made, but it is a subject that will well repay the private student of practical sociology.

Of late it has been currently reported — and the statement has not been contradicted — that the rich men of Boston were comparatively richer in 1829 than they are now; that the nine large tax-payers of the present time own less than four per cent of the wealth of that city, while the nine of 1829 owned over eight per cent; that the three hundred and thirty-three richest Bostonians of 1845 owned more comparatively than twelve hundred of the richest citizens to-day. Such statements have been substantiated by the investigations of Mr. Freeman Otis Willey in his suggestive volume entitled "The Laborer and the Capitalist."

The facts as to the increase of wealth and of wages and earnings have been brought out in their proper place, and from a consideration of these facts the conclusion is that the wage-earner occupies a much higher standard than at any previous time. While he may not have received, and probably does not now receive, a just proportion of the profits of modern methods of production, he is really much better off than ever before; for poverty is not the same it was once. It can be demonstrated that the condition of the poor man is improving, and that his share is relatively greater than under previous systems, and we know that the proportion of the skilled workers of the community and of those engaged in the higher classes of employment is constantly increasing.

Society recognises the equal rights of all men, whether skilled or unskilled, and the inherent right of self-preservation is the fundamental basis of the right to property; yet sociology teaches that the endowment of faculties is unequal, and hence the conditions surrounding men are unequal. As a psychological matter, fortunes must be unequal. This principle is nowhere

better stated than by Abraham Lincoln: "Property is desirable, is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let no man who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built."

184. Use of Wealth.

When wealth is used productively there can be little difference in the result to the community, whether it be contributed by thousands to the common stock, or manipulated by a small association of men owning the bulk of it. If a man be worth ten million dollars, and if he use this as productive capital, the community practically owns it, for capital itself, no matter whether the title of it be in one man or in a thousand, cannot be sacrificed; it must be actively employed; only the usufruct is ever secured by the community at large. Idle capital has no power. Productive capital, or capital productively employed, can never, then, in any sense, be the cause of any prevailing unrest. It is what may be called the criminal use of wealth — that is, its unproductive employment — that irritates the public mind. And here, in discussing the question as to whether the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer, we should make an important and a clear discrimination. The use of wealth for display is often defended on the ground that it gives employment to a great number of people; but in fact such employment is spasmodic, is not productive, does not give stability of condition, or increase the standard of living of those engaged in it; and it must be contended, from a moral point of view, that even the continuous giving of great balls, for instance, or any other ostentatious employment of wealth, would in the long run demoralise the recipients of the wages paid in such display, because of the enervating luxury into which all would ultimately fall. But wise, fair, and continuous employment of the greatest number of persons in the production of

things which enter into legitimate consumption for the actual use of the people, for cheapening the cost of living, and for the elevation of the standard of living itself, through making possible the attainment of some of the higher things in life, such as the productions of art, education, music, everything that beautifies and helps and stimulates, — such employment has no demoralising influence, and does not affect in an unhealthy way the public conscience, nor tend to irritate that of the individual.

A poor man may make a criminal use of wealth as well as the rich. He may use it in the purchase of those things that perish with the use, and result in no good to himself or to his family. He may spend it in some form of riotous living, or in the insane attempt to keep up appearances which are not legitimate.

One of the roots of the evil is the misuse of wealth; it is to this the poor object, and not to the possession of wealth. They do not like the display of enervating luxury. They know well that the world is better off with some rich than it would be with all poor. There can be no contention on this point. Progress would cease, industry stop, civilisation itself be retarded, were it not for the rich. There never was a time, moreover, when the rich did so much for society and for the poor as they are doing at the present time. God speed the day when all the wealthy will fully comprehend that their wealth is held in trust; that they are but the means of helping the world, and that riches have been given them for this purpose. The world is recognising this. Millionaires are understanding it more and more, and so those of low estate are securing the benefit.

185. Effects of Modern Competition.

The competition of our age is intellectual more than physical, but with the unequipped man the attempt is made to bring muscle into competition with brain. As a result, brain succeeds, and the man who has attempted to compete with it on a physical basis suffers. The mental competition of to-day means a large class of left-over men and women who cannot

keep up to the present requirements. These help to keep the body of the poor unhappily large, although it is being restricted from generation to generation in its breadth, and the pyramid is rising into a different form. Miserable conditions are found everywhere. The effort of the rich is to remove them. The activity of governments in improving slum districts in cities, the moral effects of rapid transit in taking the population out of the congested parts of great cities into suburban homes, where they meet the incoming thousands from the country homes, constitute great factors in alleviating present conditions. This suburban population itself is solving many problems, both of city and of farm.

As wealthy men understand these things, as they join hands in disseminating knowledge, in founding institutions, thus securing the very elements of a democratic government to the people at large, there is less and less quarrel about wealth; but there is an increased quarrel about some classes of wealth and some classes of wealthy people. It is this which gives emphasis to the assertion that the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer. If it be true, religion is a failure, education a snare, industry an enemy of man, and civilisation a delusion. The statement is not true, as a whole; but it is true that the rich are growing richer, and the poor are growing better off; and with increased understanding of the true uses of wealth, the proportion in which the rich are growing richer and the poor better off will assume more just and equitable relations, and thus social well-being will be more easily acquired and the happiness of the whole more generally secured.

Part VII.

The Defence of Society.

CHAPTER XXI.

CRIMINOLOGY.

186. References.

Arthur MacDonald, *Abnormal Man;* United States Eleventh Census, *Report on Crime, Pauperism, and Benevolence;* Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labour, *Eleventh Annual Report* (1880), Part III., and *Twelfth Annual Report* (1881), Part II.; Massachusetts State Board of Lunacy and Charity, *Eighteenth Annual Report* (1896); William Tallack, *Penological and Preventive Principles;* F. H. Wines, *Punishment and Reformation;* National Conference of Charities and Corrections, *Annual Reports* (*passim*); Henry Lyle Winter, *Notes on Criminal Anthropology and Bio-sociology* (reprint from *State Hospitals Bulletin*, October, 1897); Lester F. Ward, *Dynamic Sociology* (2d ed.), I. 239, 283, and II. 240, 366, 511; Carroll D. Wright, *Criminal Statistics*, in *Catholic University Bulletin*, II. 162 (April, 1896); *Relation of Economic Conditions to the Causes of Crime*, in American Academy of Political and Social Science, *Annals*, III. 764 (May, 1893).

187. Crime.

The discussion thus far has related to the varied and innumerable functions which society creates and fosters to promote prosperity and to secure the happiness of the individual through his intelligence and his love of the beautiful. It has another important function, — its own defence against the encroachments or depredations of the evil-minded. No matter what the state of civilisation may have been in the past, crime has existed; no matter how thoroughly developed any community may become, crime exists, and a threefold respon-

sibility is thus thrown upon society, — to guard itself against the acts of the criminal, to bring home the consequences to the wrong-doer, and to prevent crime.

The question whether crime in this country is increasing or decreasing has not been definitely settled, for the only positive data we have relate to the bare numbers of inmates of jails and penitentiaries. The number of convicts in the penitentiaries of the United States, including leased prisoners, in 1880 was 35,538, or 709 in each million of the population; in 1890 it was 45,233, or 722 convicts in each million. Dr. F. H. Wines, the expert in charge of the criminal statistics of the Eleventh Census, in commenting upon these figures, says: —

> "It follows that while the absolute increase in the number of penitentiary convicts was 9,695, the relative increase, compared with the growth of the population at large, was only 13 to the million. It is evident that this rate of growth is not alarming, since further study may result in an explanation of it, or even in showing that crime of a serious character is rather on the decline in this country than on the increase."

Before any definite and final conclusion can be reached, the number and relations of prisoners not in penitentiaries should be the subject of careful inquiry, and the character of crimes for which prisoners are held in custody, their average prison life, the instances of recommittals, must all be taken into account.

The penitentiary population of the country in 1890, divided geographically, shows there were 14,477 in the North Atlantic division, 15,707 in the South Atlantic and South Central divisions, and 15,049 in the North Central and Western divisions. Of the whole number, 43,442 were men and 1,791 women; the latter decreased in the ten years following 1880.

Much is made in popular discussion of the relative proportions of negroes and foreigners. For the 43,127 convicts whose parentage could be ascertained in 1890, 14,725 were

foreign born, 14,687 came from the coloured population, while 13,715 came from the native white population.[1] Nearly all the negroes were from Southern prisons. The dangerous disproportion of foreign criminals — one-third of the inmates of prisons coming from one-seventh of the population — instantly disappears, however, when we reflect that children do not commit penitentiary crimes; as between native-born adults and foreign-born adults the proportion of criminals is but little greater among foreigners.

The total number of prisoners in county jails June 1, 1890, is stated at 19,538, undoubtedly much below the truth; this is an increase, so far as the records show, of 6,847 in ten years, or at the rate of 53.95 per cent, while the increase in the total population was 24.86. The North Atlantic division of States shows the largest increase in county jail prisoners, where such increase was 95 to the million.

188. Is there an Increase or a Decrease in Crime?

Although the statistics of the whole number of criminals or sentences for crimes committed for any locality usually show increase, and sometimes alarming increase, they bring out only the superficial view of the case. There are so many complications involved in every effort to ascertain the relative proportions of crime in different countries, or communities of the same country, or at different periods of time, that it is next to impossible even for the expert to arrive at a positive conclusion on the subject. Without undertaking to show whether crime is, in general, increasing or decreasing in this country, some of the difficulties which lie in the way of reaching a conclusion may be stated, so as to put the student of criminal conditions upon his guard, and thus to enable him to reach more scientific or at least more rational conclusions than if he depended en-

[1] The number of native white prisoners is 0.19 per cent of the total adult native white population, while the number of foreign white prisoners is 0.21 per cent of the total adult foreign white population.

tirely upon the statistics; for statistics of criminal conditions may be perfectly true, and yet the conclusions drawn from them may be absolutely false.

An illustration is drawn from statistics of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts from 1860 to 1879, inclusive.[1] The clerks of all criminal courts of that Commonwealth were obliged by law to render an accurate account of all sentences, causes of sentences, etc., for each criminal court. These returns, made to the Secretary of the Commonwealth under oath, were tabulated a few years ago, and no recent data of like character show so clearly and so trustworthily the various complications and features of criminal statistics.

It will be seen by an examination of the table in the note that the total sentences after 1864 rose very rapidly until and including 1873, when they reached the enormous number of 46,132. They then began to decline until, in 1879, at the close of the twenty-year period under discussion, they fell to

[1] Sentences for Drunkenness and other Offences in Massachusetts, 1860 to 1879, inclusive.

Year.	Number of Sentences for all Crimes.			
	Total (all crimes).	Drunkenness.	Crimes, not including Drunkenness and Liquor Offences.	High Crimes.
1860 . .	16,513	6,334	9,385	331
1861 . .	14,294	4,426	9,339	382
1862 . .	13,934	6,065	7,465	214
1863 . .	14,859	7,066	7,347	162
1864 . .	15,858	7,526	7,788	119
1865 . .	17,276	8,060	8,507	206
1866 . .	22,489	11,563	9,807	312
1867 . .	26 281	11,019	11,588	275
1868 . .	25,857	12,920	10,871	399
1869 . .	31,850	16,742	12,160	317
1870 . .	39,693	18,880	13,310	394
1871 . .	39,869	20,383	12,231	283
1872 . .	45,297	23,587	13,498	310
1873 . .	46,132	23,842	14,227	459
1874 . .	43,684	22,748	14,506	455
1875 . .	40,404	23,553	14,613	500
1876 . .	33,103	18,107	13,865	490
1877 . .	31,688	17,614	12,826	525
1878 . .	31,118	16,795	13,340	626
1879 . .	28,149	12,211	11,278	462

28,149, a number less than that for each of the ten years previous.

The explanation of this wave of criminality is simple. Looking at the column of sentences for drunkenness, we find that the number rapidly increased from 1865 to 1873, when it reached the high figure of 23,842. Sentences for minor crimes other than drunkenness and liquor offences also nearly doubled between 1864 and 1873; but the high crimes, which measure the danger to life and property, varied much from year to year throughout the period, but ended at no greater proportion to the population than in the beginning.

Plainly these figures alone tell no story, but a table has been made showing the percentage of increase over 1860, both in sentences for drunkenness and for other offences, the percentage of increase of population, and the percentage of each class of sentences per one thousand of the population for such periods as the census discloses the population. This table follows, and is thoroughly instructive in illustration of the difficulties to which reference has been made: —

Periods.	Percentages of Increase over 1860.					Number per 1,000 Population.			
	Population.	Total Sentences (all crimes).	Drunkenness.	Crimes, not including Drunkenness and Liquor Offences.	High Crimes.	Total Sentences.	Drunkenness.	Crimes, not including Drunkenness and Liquor Offences.	High Crimes.
1860	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	13.4	5.1	7.6	0.3
1865	2.9	4.6	27.2	9.3[1]	37.8[1]	13.6	6.4	6.7	0.2
1870	18.3	140.3	198.0	41.9	19.0	27.2	13.0	9.1	0.3
1875	34.1	144.0	271.8	55.8	51.1	24.5	14.3	8.8	0.3
1879	50.4	70.4	155.9	20.1	39.6	15.2	8.8	6.1	0.2

[1] Decrease.

189. The Statistical Method applied to Penology.

The percentages of increase alone would be misleading; hence we must ascertain the number of sentences under each designation for every one thousand of the population, and here at last we find the true significant relations of things. In 1860 for Massachusetts the total number of sentences for all crimes was 13.4 for each one thousand, while at the end of the twenty years it was only 15.2. The sentences for drunkenness varied from 5.1 in each one thousand in 1860 to 14.3 in 1875, and 8.8 in 1879. The sentences for crimes not including drunkenness and liquor offences really fell off between 1860 and 1879, the number being 7.6 for each thousand of the population in the first year and 6.1 in the latter year, while the ratio of high crimes to population shows an exceedingly satisfactory condition, the sentences for such crimes constituting 0.3 to each one thousand of the population in 1860, and 0.2 in 1879.

The whole number of sentences for all crimes in the twenty years was 578,348. Of this whole number 340,814, or 60 per cent, were for liquor offences of some kind. Taking the high crimes, we find that the increase over 1860 was 39.6 per cent, while the increase of population for the twenty years was 50.4 per cent.

Now this ceaseless variation in the number of sentences rests almost entirely upon legislation relative to the alcoholic liquor traffic. In Massachusetts the prohibitory law of 1855 gave place to a license law in 1868. It was the vigorous prosecutions of 1866 and 1867 under the prohibitory law which caused the number of sentences to increase, and this very increase led to the license law of 1868; but the friends of a license law insisted upon its vigorous enforcement, and such enforcement carried the number of liquor convictions of all grades still higher, when another popular reaction caused the re-enactment of the prohibitory law, which went into effect July 1, 1869, and under this the statistics for drunkenness and

liquor offences went to their highest points in 1872 and 1873. In 1870 the laws of the Commonwealth allowed the free sale of "ale, porter, strong beer, and lager beer" everywhere in the State, unless prohibited by local vote. This law was repealed in 1873. From that year, either through the effect of the repeal of the beer law or of a waning interest in the prohibitory law, resulting in a decreased vigilance on the part of the officers in its enforcement and in prosecutions, the number of crimes dropped till 1875, when the prohibitory law was repealed. From 1876 to the end of the term under discussion (1879) there was a constant decrease in the number of sentences.

In view of this state of affairs, it is interesting to inquire whether the figures representing liquor offences are due to legislation wholly, or to a vigorous or weak execution of the law, or to the positive decline of drunkenness through the effect of reform movements. Whatever the answer may be, it is true that sentences for minor crimes and misdemeanours, and even for felonies and aggravated crimes, have risen or fallen as indicated by the barometer of sentences for liquor offences alone.

This concrete illustration from the statistics of Massachusetts shows that in the attempt to ascertain whether or not crime is on the increase close attention should be paid to legislation. Law is constantly raising what were formerly only moral delinquencies to the grade of well-defined crimes, punishable by light sentences. The result is that we are constantly increasing the work of criminal courts and the number of sentences, even in communities where the actual volume of crime is decreasing. The only true method, probably, of ascertaining the answer to the question as to the increase or decrease of crime is to take only those crimes which have existed through long series of years, and study the statistics of sentences relating to them.

Another complication in the study of criminal statistics arises from the greater completeness of the statistics of later

periods, so that when they are brought into comparison with those of earlier years the results are not satisfactory. In the old countries of Europe, where the enforcement of law has become a science almost, the criminal statistics show, generally, a very gradual decrease. Conditions are fixed; politics does not enter into the enforcement of law; civilisation is distributed in an equal measure over the whole country. In the United States the execution of law is vigorous or lax, in accordance with the moral sentiment of the community, thus varying greatly in the different parts of the United States, while, again, politics enters largely into the whole question. This latter statement is especially true with reference to liquor legislation. Investigations have shown that in some States the municipal authorities are very much opposed to a prohibitory law. They, therefore, insist upon a very vigorous execution of such laws through the arrest of every person who can by any excuse whatever be shown to be under the influence of liquor. This creates a false impression in the community, showing by the statistics that drunkenness is very prevalent when a prohibitory law is in existence. On the other hand, municipal police forces are often more inclined to favour a license law; and when such a law exists the officers are apt to be quite lenient in making arrests of drunken persons, creating the impression — just the reverse of the former one — that under the license law drunkenness does not prevail to an alarming extent. All these things are inherent in the conditions of our country.

190. Effect of Local Conditions on Crime.

In border States the execution of the law is difficult; crime prevails, and the statistics are faulty. In the older parts of the country the execution of law is more strictly attended to, and the statistics more perfect, and thus a false impression is created, especially when comparison is attempted for different periods of time. More serious complications arise, however, when comparisons are attempted between different localities;

as, for instance, for two different States or for a number of States.

The criminal code of State X, for instance, in 1879 provided for the punishment of one hundred and fifty-eight offences designated as crimes. The criminal code of State Y, for the same year, recognised but one hundred and eight such offences as crimes, punishable at law; that is, in X a man might be tried for fifty distinct offences for which he would not be molested at all in Y. Even in offences common to both, if statistics of the number of persons in prison for crime were made a basis, no conclusion would be safe; for of such offences several were punishable by imprisonment in X, and by fine only in Y. Such were the grave offences of adultery, fornication, lewd conduct, drunkenness, carrying concealed weapons, extortion. It appeared that more than half of the commitments in X were for crimes which in Y would have been punished by fine only, so that the mere number of prisoners would show nothing about them. These statements completely destroy the value of the comparisons between States where the codes vary as much as those to which reference has been made.

Other conditions than those relating to the criminal code, however, offer obstacles to any exact comparison. One may be a manufacturing community; another an agricultural community. In one the population may have been augmented constantly by immigration from abroad; in the other only by natural accretions. The white population of one State may have grown from original stock; that of another from original stock and foreign grafts. One may have been the subject of much immigration; the other of but little. So even with a like number as to population, the criminal statistics cannot be compared.

Very many persons are fond of drawing parallel illustrations when studying criminal statistics. Dr. Arthur MacDonald, in his valuable work entitled "Abnormal Man," has disclosed the absurdity of using concomitants in undertaking to ascertain

the causes of crime. In Germany the convictions per ten thousand inhabitants over twelve years of age were 106 in 1885 and 108.2 in 1886. In 1885 woollen manufactures to the value of £2,663,015 were imported into Germany, and in 1886 the value reached was £2,783,728, showing an increase somewhat parallel to that of the number of convictions. Persons fond of arguing from concomitancy to causation might be led to conclude that the increase in wool importation caused increase in crime.

This use of concomitants is more clearly illustrated when attempts are made to show the relation of education to crime; it is found that crime increases as religious and moral forces increase; that is, as the efforts of religious and moral bodies become more efficient, there seems often to be alongside this work an increase in crime. The absurdity consists in reasoning from concomitants whose reciprocal influence is unknown; for, as Dr. MacDonald remarks, sociology has not reached that stage of completeness where social forces can be measured and the resultant action in this or that tendency be calculated. The social equation has too many unknown quantities to admit of solution by any method yet known. Dr. MacDonald further brings out the fact that while it is true that a majority of countries show an increase in both education and certain forms of crime, yet not a few, and some of the most developed nations, show an increase of education and a decrease of crime. All these illustrations should teach one to avoid irrelevant facts in attempting to account for an increase or a decrease of crime.

191. Crime in Great Britain.

In countries where we have statistics which avoid these anomalies and misleading comparisons, the status of crime is distinctly encouraging. For England and Wales the total number of committals in 1877 was 15,890; from that time there has been a gradual and persistent decrease, the latest available figures (those for 1896) showing only 11,213. The number of convictions for 1877 was 11,942, rising to 12,525

in 1879, since which time there has been such a decrease that the number for 1896 was 8,855.

If we look at Scotland the same tendency is disclosed, the committals for trial in 1877 being 2,684, and in 1896, 2,120; the convictions, 2,009 in 1877 and 1,704 in 1896. There is a still more remarkable decrease, however, for Ireland, where the committals in 1877 numbered 3,870, and in 1896, 2,055; while the convictions in the first year numbered 2,300, and in the last, 1,310. Continental countries show similar decrease; where the execution of law has been uniform the decrease is apparent.

In a country like the United States, with varied conditions, from those attending high civilisation to those accompanying frontier communities, one would naturally look for an increase in criminal cases. Unfortunately, we have not the statistics of committals and convictions like those shown for Great Britain; so dependence must be made upon the somewhat unsatisfactory statistics of prisoners at different periods.

192. Causes of Crime.

The criminologist, in his search for the causes of crime, cannot, in the nature of things, accept any "blanket theory." The fall of man and the doctrine of total depravity may satisfy his theological views as to the origin of evil, but they cannot round out his sociological aspirations. He must, as a criminologist, be able to develop specific causes more or less in harmony with his theology. He cannot be a criminologist without being scientific. He must study anthropology, — "the biology of the human race," — and through this study he may scientifically classify the causes of crime. His theology will warn him of the results of a criminal career, and these results will strengthen his theological views; but his scientific classification must be based upon his scientific researches.

The investigator will find many types of criminals, — some born to crime through their psycho-physical organisation, and prone to commit crime without regard to good or bad environ-

ment. Whether prosperous or unprosperous, under all conditions, such a man not only commits crime, but defends it.

Another type of man, even with a normal psycho-physical organisation, commits crime through the influence of environment, or of an uneducated and untrained conscience, or of a conscience naturally dull. The recent researches into the relation of the formation of certain parts of the brain to criminal tendencies are among the most valuable studies of scientific men; yet should their researches prove beyond doubt that certain brain formations lead directly to criminal courses, such demonstration could not fully account for all criminal lives, in all degrees. If they did, there would be no use of wasting time over the discussion of the influence of heredity, environment, economic conditions, or of any of the other causes which, related or unrelated, lead men to criminal courses. Whatever cause the scientific criminologist may find and even establish, it is true, and must always be true, that a weak conscience will be lulled by necessity or desire to the point of criminal action, and that conditions surrounding a man will at times stimulate such action. The good old Calvinistic doctrine of free will recognises that power of choice between good and evil which every sane man and woman is aware of, though the evil may be habitually chosen. Yet study of criminology throws one out of sympathy with the idea that criminals usually become such through the loss of moral attributes once possessed; few criminals who have ever started in life comparatively good men have wilfully and maliciously broken the laws of the State. Most criminals are undeveloped men in all their elements, whether we think of them as workers or as moral and intellectual beings: their faculties are undeveloped, not only those which enable them to labour honestly and faithfully for the care and support of themselves and their families, but also all their moral and intellectual faculties; they are not fallen beings, but undeveloped individuals.

The other view, that of complete moral responsibility in all cases, leads men to adopt many illogical conclusions, and also

especially deludes them into considering all the convicts of a State as belonging to the same class. Notwithstanding these statements, it is true that men even with fairly sound consciences can and do become habituated to the idea of crime through their necessities or their environment, and even degenerate from a reasonably good life to a bad one, and that many weak and criminal men have still the strength to avoid wrongdoing, if they would only exercise it.

While the scientific view of crime attracts one more than any other, the penologist must govern himself by the doctrine that men commit crime, or refrain from it, as they wish; that crime is the result of some craving, some want, some unsatisfied desire; and that the basic action or motive of crime is to be found in some physical or mental condition. Whether it suits our views or not, therefore, we are obliged to consider the criminal as acting under free will, and while we do not lose sight of all the scientific conditions which are alleged as primarily necessary to constitute criminal action, we must deal with the criminal as a free moral agent; as one committing his act to satisfy his want or desire, which he feels he is unable to satisfy through the ordinary or legitimate conditions.

193. Economic Conditions in Relation to Crime.

All great social questions, on careful analysis, resolve themselves, in a greater or less degree, into some phase of what we call the labour question; and certainly the causes of crime, in a sociological sense, cannot be studied without considering the status of man in the prevailing industrial order, for among all the causes for criminal action, or for the existence of the criminal class, we find economic conditions interwoven.

Crime was not so fully recognised under the slave and the feudal systems as it has been under the modern system of labour. For ages ownership came naturally through conquest; possession was the clear title to property; conflict and conquest were the prime causes of private ownership. Hence, under slavery, crime assumed a different relationship to the

body politic than it assumes under the modern system, where the right of free contract prevails, especially in view of the fact that to kill a criminal might deprive a master of services. Under the feudal system so intermingled were the conditions that it is sometimes difficult to clearly define the responsibilities of the individual; but one feature was the multiplication of petty jurisdictions, and the subjection to the cruelest penalties for minor offences. The central principle of the middle ages was that every person was a part of a class, and had protection only as belonging to a principal class. The peasant was overburdened by labour and responsibility; all the conditions surrounding his labour were abject. Pauperism seemed as inevitably a part of the labour system as tax-paying, and crime, the offspring of pauperism and of idleness, was brutally treated. These conditions, betokening an unsound social condition, existed until progress made pauperism and crime as well the disgrace of a nation, and it was then that pauperism began to be recognised as a condition which might be relieved through legislation. Carry industry to a country not given to mechanical production or to any systematic form of labour, employ three-fourths of its inhabitants, give them a taste of education, of civilisation, make them feel the power of moral forces even to a slight degree, and the misery of the other fourth may be gauged by the progress of the three-fourths, and paupers and resultant criminals will then seem abnormal.

A most striking illustration is the emancipation of slaves in this country in the Civil War. Under the old system the negro slave had coarse physical comforts, as a rule. He was brought up, nursed in sickness, fed and clothed, and in old age could still exist. He had no responsibility, and, indeed, exercised no skill beyond what was taught him. To eat, to work, and to sleep were all that was expected of him; and unless he had a cruel master, he lived the life that belongs to the animal. Since his emancipation and his endowment with citizenship he has been obliged to support himself and his

family, and to contend with all obstacles belonging to a person in a state of freedom. Under the system of villeinage in the old country it could not be said that there were any general poor, for the master and the lord of the manor took care of the labourers their whole lives; and in our Southern towns, during slavery, the same thing was true; so that in the South there were few poorhouses and comparatively few convicts. The South to-day knows what pauperism is, as England learned when the system of villeinage departed. Southern prisons have become active; and all that belongs to the defective, the dependent, and the delinquent classes has come to be familiar to the South as the wards of the State, whereas before 1861 most of them were wards of individuals.

The progress of the wage system, the increasing intelligence of the men who work under it will, as time advances, correct these crude conditions. They do not cause them; they only bring them into prominence. But so far as the modern industrial order superinduces idleness or non-employment, in so far it must be considered as having a direct relation to the causes of crime. Whatever tendency in this direction exists under the modern industrial order is of far less degree, not only in extent, but in severity, than the conditions which were superinduced by the industrial order which preceded it.

194. How to Prevent Crime.

Old conditions of labour were all attended with a great volume of crime; and it was crime, to a large extent, which grew out of individual physical wants. Guizot has said that labour is a most efficient guarantee against the revolutionary disposition of the poor classes. He might have added that labour, properly remunerated, is an effective guarantee against the commission of crime. Certainly hunger leads to more crime of a petty nature than any other one cause.

The discussion "How shall poverty be abolished and crime be eradicated?" is a very old one, and neither modern professional labour reformers, nor philanthropists, nor criminol-

ogists, nor penologists, have any patents upon the theme. The progress of the world may be read as well by the statute books, where laws grow humane, in the existence of prisons, in the establishment of charitable institutions, and in the economic conditions which surround labour, as in written history; for, as the condition of labour rises, pauperism and crime must fall in the general scale.

To say that pauperism, and crime as an attendant evil, follow the unemployed more mercilessly than the employed, would be a statement that does not embody the whole truth. Employment of the unemployed will not crush pauperism and crime, even if every able-bodied man in the country could be furnished with work to-morrow. Criminal conditions, the evils we are considering, have always existed, no matter what the social or legal status of men, — under the most favourable as well as under the most unfavourable conditions; under liberal and under despotic government; in barbarous and in enlightened lands; with heathenism and with Christianity; under a variety of commercial systems; and yet they are, in a philosophic sense, a rebuke to a people living under constitutional liberty.

Universal education will not end crime, nor the realisation of the highest hopes of the temperance and labour reformers, nor the general adoption of the Christian religion. But all these grand and divine agencies working together will reduce the twin evils to a minimum, and make that community which tolerates them indictable at the bar of public opinion.

Unfitness for productive labour, whether it springs from lack of a trade or occupation, or from personal antipathy to work, is a great and predisposing cause of both pauperism and crime. The border line of people who can work, and do work if it is not too much trouble, is shown during periods of industrial depression, when crime of almost all grades is increased in volume. Could we have annual statements of the convictions in all our States, so that such statements might be consulted relative to economic conditions, we should find a

co-ordination of results that would be startling. We should find that the lines of crime rise and fall as the prosperity of the country falls and rises. Competition for work throws out the weaker elements in the industrial system, drives them to necessity, increases the want, and decreases the means of its satisfaction. Larceny, burglary, and all the forms of theft come into play, and the volume of crime increases. The cessation of labour makes tramps; again, crime is the result, and the criminal statistics swell into columns that make us believe our social fabric is on the verge of ruin. Dr. Schäffle, in his excellent work on the "Impossibility of Social Democracy," says: "We cannot do enough in the endeavour to abate and avoid the misery of these trade stoppages: it hangs like the sword of Damocles over the heads of non-propertied labourers; it embitters the existence of every one of them who reflects and who has the care and nurture of a family to provide for." Ignorance of work, the lack of some technical training, prevents the mobilisation of labour, and leads men with a weak conscience to commit crime.

A fruitful cause of crime, hinted at by good Dr. Watts in his "Satan finds Some Mischief Still," is idleness, whether induced by economic conditions, or by a lack of inclination to work, or by a lack of knowledge of how to work. Such conditions aggravate and irritate and drive men to criminal courses; the idle man's brain is, indeed, the devil's own workshop. Political economy, which has dealt so largely with the acquisition of wealth, must, sooner or later, deal with other features of wealth, and teach the world what conditions will largely relieve society of crime, or largely lead to a reduction of its volume, through teaching the power of moral forces in the adjustment of industrial forces.

195. Crime and the Labour Problem.

The presence of crime works a direct injury upon the welfare of the workingman in many ways. It costs him more to live because of it; it disturbs his sense of justice, because the

convict may be at work at the same occupation which furnishes his support; but while the labour reformer cries for the abolition of convict labour, the real interests of labour cry for the reduction of the number of criminals by the prevention of crime, as the surest and most permanent remedy for whatever evils may grow out of the practice of employing convicts in productive labour. To some degree it is true that society makes criminals, for three-fourths of the crime committed is by young men who are temporarily led astray; and the fact that fifty per cent of all the convicts in the States prisons of the United States are under twenty-six years of age, only confirms the estimate. These accidental criminals we make into positive convicts, to be fed upon the production of men outside. What we need is not only wise and effective legislation, backed by adequate administration, but a sound public sentiment which will overlook small faults, but which will not hesitate when necessary to apply that punishment which is most dreaded by the offender, by making all violation of law, all habitual crime, obviously, inevitably, and instantly a losing game. We look forward, as Francis A. Walker puts it, to the time when the distribution of wealth and its use shall receive both from the statesman and the economist the same sedulous attention which is now concentrated exclusively upon its acquisition.

Another group of causes of crime are insanitary conditions, and all that works a deterioration in the health of people. Bad air, bad housing, bad drainage, lead to intemperance and want; it requires no argument to show that these are precursors of crime. And it is perfectly deducible from known facts that any occupation which insures a high rate of mortality among the children of its participants tends to conditions most favourable to the prevalence of pauperism and crime.

The displacement of labour through the application of improved machinery temporarily produces for the individual a condition of want which may or may not be remedied for him by the increased labour demanded through invention. Society can be easily recompensed by the benefits which

come to it through inventive genius; but the good of society is a poor answer to the man who finds the means of supporting his family taken from him. Nevertheless, with the progress of invention and the consequent elevation of labour, both pauperism and crime, so far as society is concerned, have correspondingly decreased. This is true in more senses than one. The age of invention, or periods given to the development and practical adaptation of natural laws, raises all peoples to a higher intellectual level, to a more comprehensive understanding of the world's march of progress.

But the double question of the removal of poverty and the suppression of crime is not wholly with the workingman; the employer has as much to learn as he, and he is to be holden to equal, if not greater, responsibility. Insomuch as the profits of labour are equitably shared with labour, insomuch is poverty lessened; and insomuch as poverty is lessened, insomuch is crime decreased. The employer should always remember that if conditions become ameliorated, if life becomes less a struggle, if leisure be obtained, civilisation, as a general rule, advances in the scale. If these conditions be reversed, "if the struggle for existence tends to occupy the whole attention of each man, civilisation disappears in a measure," communities become dangerous, and the people seek a revolutionary change, hoping by chance to secure what was not possible by honest labour.

In a state in which labour had all its rights there would be, of course, little pauperism and little crime. On the other hand, the undue subjection of the labouring man must tend to make paupers and criminals, and entails a financial burden upon wealth which it would have been easier to prevent than to endure; and this prevention must come in a large degree through educated labour.

It must not be supposed that crime is a necessary accompaniment of the industrial system. Our sober, industrious working men and women are as free from vicious and criminal courses as any other class; the volume of crime is found out-

side the real ranks of industry. Infinitely superior as the modern system is over that which has passed, the iron law of wages, when enforced with an iron hand, keeps some men in the lowest ranks of life, and often on the verge of starvation. As intelligence increases and is more generally diffused, the individual man desires more, has higher aspirations for himself and his family; but under the iron law of wages, all these desires and aspirations are hard to satisfy. Under the modern system there is mental friction; a competition of mind instead of mere muscular competition, in consequence of which the laggard in the industrial race may lose his conscience and develop into the criminal; the economic condition or environment of such a man leads him inevitably to crime. But system gives way to system, and the present industrial order will be superseded by one vastly superior to it. As the establishment of the wage system reduces crime and its attendant evils, so that which is to come will still further benefit the human race ethically and economically.

Can it be possible that more civilisation means more crime? Yes, and no. For a time, under improved civilisation, under improved mechanical methods, and under the march of invention, competition is mental to a larger degree than under the simpler methods and cruder civilisation. The residuum of society is more easily observed and more thoroughly claims the attention of philanthropists and of legislators; but to say that more civilisation means more poverty and more crime is in every sense untruthful.

All these considerations lead us to weigh well the remedies for social disorders. Trade instruction, technical education, manual training, — all these are efficient elements in the reduction of crime, because they all help to better and truer economic conditions. Beyond these the principles of solution are clearly discernible, — justice to labour; equitable distribution of profits under some system which must, in the nature of things, supersede the present régime, without resorting to socialism, which is revolution; instruction in trades by which

a man can earn his living outside a penal institution; the practical application of the great moral law in all business relations. All these elements, with the more enlightened treatment of the criminal when apprehended, will lead to a reduction in the volume of crime, but not to the millennium; for "human experience from time immemorial tells us that the earth neither was, nor is, nor ever will be a heaven, nor yet a hell;" but the endeavour of right-minded men and women, the endeavour of every government, should be to make it less a hell and more a heaven.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE PUNISHMENT OF CRIME.

196. References.

Same references as in preceding chapter; also U. S. Commissioner of Labour, *Second Annual Report*, and *Bulletin* No. 5; reports of prison commissioners and superintendents of prisons for States of New York and Massachusetts; Edward L. Pell, *Prevention of Lynchings*, in *Review of Reviews*, XVII. 321 (March, 1898); George W. Cable, *Silent South* (chapter on convict lease system); Abraham Lincoln, *Works*, I. 11–12 (remarks on lynching); Carroll D. Wright, *Prison Labor*, in *North American Review*, CLXIV. 273 (March, 1897).

197. Classification of Punishment.

Penology is the science which treats of public punishments as they respect the public and the sufferer. In its broadest sense, it relates to all matters concerning prison life and the treatment and employment of convicts, as contradistinguished from criminology, which relates to the causes of crime. In defending itself against the inroads of the criminal, society has instituted many forms of punishment, and through the criminal codes has defined what constitutes a crime and the method of punishing it.

Crimes are divided into two general classes, — felonies, comprehending all crimes punishable by death or imprisonment in the State prison; and misdemeanours, comprehending every offence inferior to felony. The term "misdemeanour" is also applied to all those crimes and offences for which the law has not provided a particular name, and is generally used in contradistinction to felony.

The criminal codes of foreign countries and of the States of our own country are so varied in their definitions and requirements that it is almost impossible to make any intelligent

classification. Each code has been borrowed in whole or in part from existing codes, the modifications being made to suit the particular conditions of the communities where they are to be applied, or the views of their framers. Certain it is that no two codes agree throughout either in their definitions of crime or in the penalties prescribed for particular offences.

Punishments may be classified in six types, — first, death; second, imprisonment only; third, fine only; fourth, fine or imprisonment; fifth, both fine and imprisonment; sixth, fine or imprisonment, or both fine and imprisonment. Almost universally capital crimes are punished by either death or imprisonment for life or for a very long term of years, according to the character of the crime, murder in the first degree being almost everywhere punishable by death, although some States have modified the penalty to imprisonment for life. Murder in less degree than the first is usually punishable by imprisonment for life, while homicide may be punished by a term of years.

Considering other felonies and misdemeanours, the punishment varies far more than the definitions of the crimes: for instance, the maximum penalty for perjury in one State is a fine, in some States five years' imprisonment, and in still others imprisonment for life; in one it is death if through the perjury the testimony causes the execution of an innocent person. In one State perjury is punishable by fine without imprisonment. The maximum penalty for bigamy ranges in this country from one to twenty-one years' imprisonment. For arson of a building, not a dwelling, during the day, the penalty in some States is imprisonment for four years, and in others it is death; while the maximum penalty for arson of an occupied dwelling by night in some States is imprisonment for ten years, and in others death. The penalty for grand larceny varies from two to twenty years' imprisonment, and for forgery, from three years to imprisonment for life. These instances show the difficulty of any classification which shall be general in its application, and they show, further, as already intimated,

the great difficulty in comparing the crime of one locality with that of another through the statistical method.

In older civilisations than our own, the criminal codes are usually uniform throughout the land, though the penalty of England is different from that of Scotland. In the Empire of Germany there is a single criminal code. In our own country, whose size and strength have been the subject of constant accretions, involving all stages accompanying the development of society, not only are the codes as varied as the conditions, but the prevalence of crime is equally disproportionate. The student of criminal law, or one wishing to ascertain what punishments accompany certain offences, must necessarily study the local codes.

One thing, however, may be noted with reference to all American codes; they all, with slight exceptions, have abandoned the old system of torture which characterised mediæval and later codes. Down to the French Revolution the ordinary method of execution was breaking on the wheel, which was as painful as crucifixion; in Russia the knout was used as an official punishment till a few years ago, and running the gantlet is still in vogue. To the honour of English criminal law, it never authorised torture to exact testimony; but the pillory and whipping-post were really instruments of torture, and were imported into the colonies in America. The experience of mankind has been that the torture of human nerves brutalises the criminal and the community; and flogging, the last remnant of a cruel system, has about disappeared as a legalised punishment. There are still cases of the authorised whipping of convicts, especially in the South and in Delaware; and in the Southern prison camps such cruelty and despair as used to go with slavery under bad masters sometimes exist, although communities are becoming awakened to the need of reform.

Of late years there has been introduced what is called the system of indeterminate sentences, with a view to securing the reformation of the criminal. Where this system prevails, the courts are authorised, especially in New York, to use their dis-

cretion in sentencing a criminal to the reformatory institutions, leaving the term of imprisonment to the governor of the prison, he to determine when the person sentenced is fit to be returned to society. This system is on trial and is defended by penologists in many cases, and it is believed it will result in the reformation of a larger proportion of criminals than the old system of sentencing them for a certain number of years, and then returning them to society without reference to their moral condition. The effect of good conduct and of pardons in reducing the length of sentences is a practical application of the principle underlying the indeterminate sentence. Everywhere good conduct works a reduction of the term of sentence; while the executive power, for good and sufficient reasons, may pardon a convict, thus restoring him to the privileges of citizenship, of which he would have been deprived had he worked out his entire sentence. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts recently has made a decision involving the constitutionality of a law of that State providing for indeterminate sentences.

198. Lynchings.

When a wild territory is suddenly occupied and the pioneers flock to it, especially for the purpose of settlement, and society has not had time or opportunity to organise its forces of law, the people of the district often establish a temporary government, through vigilance committees or officers of their own selection. Such was the case in California from 1848 to 1856. Under such circumstances the individual members feel the necessity (which all society feels at any stage) of defending itself against the depredations of the evil-disposed, and especially against thieves. In such cases vigilance committees constitute government. Their methods must necessarily be arbitrary, and their decrees enforced with punctuality. Men are hanged or exiled on the briefest and simplest trial. These things would be crimes in themselves almost, if done in a civilised community; but in a concrete organisation at the begin-

ning of society they are methods in the interest of law and order.

The next step is, however, the establishment of what is called lynch law, which is defined as the practice of trying and punishing men by unauthorised persons, without due process of law, and in violation of the right of the proper legal authorities to bring alleged offenders to trial for the crimes and offences with which they are charged. In times of especial turbulence and disorder, when the duly constituted legal authorities are powerless to enforce the laws, there may be some justification for a resort to lynch law, but ordinarily it is an unmixed evil. The legal safeguards which serve to protect an innocent man from unjust conviction are almost invariably disregarded, and the excitement and passion under which the self-constituted judges usually labour render conviction almost a certainty in all cases, and often result in the infliction of inhuman cruelties by way of punishment. Above all, they accustom communities to rely on these irregular methods after they have well-constituted courts.

Hence lynchings occur even in communities that claim a fairly high standard of civilisation; they occur even in our older States, without the excuse of conditions which accompany the settlement of wild territory. There are no official and no private statistics of lynchings that can be used with the utmost confidence, although it is probably within the truth to say that during the last fifteen or sixteen years nearly 2,500 persons have been lynched in the United States. The extent of the practice is shown by the investigation of Dr. Edward L. Pell: —

"According to the statistics prepared by the 'Chicago Tribune' and recently given wide publicity, 166 persons (122 negroes, 39 whites, and 5 Indians) were lynched in the United States last year, — 20 in the North and 146 in the South. These statistics may be easily shown to be unreliable, yet it seems impossible to get at the exact figures. The authorities in communities where lynchings occur are not always careful to report the facts to the chief execu-

tive, and the chief executive sometimes grows weary trying to keep up with the press reporter. It is perhaps safe to say that the State authorities are not in possession of all the facts, but it is hardly worth while to look for more reliable information from any other source. In the 'Tribune's' statistics for 1897, Alabama is credited with 19 lynchings. These figures were accepted without investigation and commented upon by leading Alabama dailies, and yet, according to the best information that could be obtained by the executive department of that State, the estimate is too large by 14. The same statistics credit Virginia with 5 lynchings and Florida with 12; but the chief executive of Florida has information of only 6, and I am sure that in Virginia there have been but 3 in the past four years. There is no reason to suppose, however, that the total lynchings for the year 1897 fell much below the average."

Various attempts have been made by the legislatures of some of our States to prevent the practice of lynching. South Carolina has a law making the county in which lynching occurs liable in exemplary damages of not less than $2,000, to be recovered by the legal representatives of the person lynched, while recommendations have been sent to other legislatures for a law requiring the county in which lynching occurs to pay into the State treasury a large sum of money for the benefit of the public-school fund. Attempts have also been made to secure the enforcement of law by providing that an officer who allows a prisoner to be taken from him by a mob and injured or put to death shall be guilty of misdemeanour and punishable accordingly. Several States have laws or recommendations for laws requiring an officer in charge of a prisoner to unshackle him under certain conditions, arm him, and give him an opportunity to defend himself. Little or nothing has been done by way of the conviction of the lynchers themselves. It is a very difficult problem, and one which has called for the very closest consideration of the chief magistrates of those States where lynchings are most frequent.

Lynchings have been sometimes prevented through the courage and patriotism of the governor, as instanced in the State of Virginia, where during a period of fourteen years

sixty-two lynchings had occurred; but during the four years of one administration there were but three; and the effective restraint was nothing but the declaration that mob violence must cease, and the determination of law-abiding citizens to back the governor in carrying out the declaration.

The remedies for this humiliating state of things are summed up by Dr. Pell, as follows: —

"Not to mention the special legislation that may be needed in some of the States to secure a better enforcement of the laws in existence, these six things ought to be done for the prevention of lynch-law epidemics: 1. Executive officials should be chosen with regard for their personal courage. It is not enough to know how the candidate stands on the law; the question is whether he can be depended upon to stand by the law. 2. The intelligent citizens of the South should individually undertake to awaken in their neighbours a higher regard for law. 3. The papers of the two sections should exchange texts, and the Northern press should preach against negro crime, and the Southern press should preach against lawlessness and race prejudice. The good that has been already accomplished by the few papers that have made this exchange ought to encourage the rest to follow their example. 4. Southern newspapers should omit from their news columns the suggestive details of lynchings as well as the inflammatory details of assaults. 5. The higher education of negroes should be pushed with a view to supplying the demand for capable teachers of righteousness for the race. 6. The South should take the worthy young negro by the hand as earnestly as the mob has taken the unworthy negro by the neck, and encourage him in all high endeavour, that the race may not be without salt to save it."

Lynching is a confession by a community that it has not confidence in its own legal machinery, and one reason for the practice is the legal quibbles sometimes allowed by courts; but there are cases of lynchings of convicted criminals awaiting execution. No writer has ever better set forth the wrong and the danger of lynching than Abraham Lincoln in one of his earliest speeches, in which he discusses the operation of mobocratic spirit resulting in the effectual breaking down and destruction of the strongest bulwark of our government, the attachment of the people: —

"Whenever this effect shall be produced among us; whenever the vicious portion of population shall be permitted to gather in bands of hundreds and thousands, and burn churches, ravage and rob provision stores, throw printing-presses into rivers, shoot editors, and hang and burn obnoxious persons at pleasure and with impunity — depend on it, this government cannot last. By such things the feelings of the best citizens will become more or less alienated from it, and thus it will be left without friends, or with too few, and those few too weak to make their friendship effectual. At such a time, and under such circumstances, men of sufficient talent and ambition will not be wanting to seize the opportunity, strike the blow, and overturn that fair fabric which for the last century has been the fondest hope of the lovers of freedom throughout the world."

199. Prison Labour and the Reformation of Convicts.

The employment of convicts, or the manufacture of goods in prisons by convict labour, has grown to be a very irritating question during the last generation, both in this country and abroad. The legislative attempts to regulate prison labour in the United States are fairly representative of those in other countries. The first idea was to abolish prison labour entirely, and it took many severe moral conflicts in the latter part of the last century and the first half of this to overcome the old custom of keeping prisoners idle or compelling them to work at what is called penal labour; that is, turning a crank or running a treadmill. With the abandonment of this system, the employment of convicts in the manufacture of goods, and the consequent competition of such goods with those made outside, attempts have been made to regulate the manufacture and sale of prison-made goods. Sometimes law has necessitated that all prison-made goods should be stamped as such, with the name of the prison where made, but little or nothing has been accomplished. More recently attempts have been made to prevent the sale of goods made in one State or country in the markets of another. So far as the United States is concerned, this has been a violation of the right of Congress to regulate commerce between the States, and has generally been abandoned.

While reports have been made in late years covering some

features of prison labour, the most recent statement for the whole country as to the relation of the earnings of State prisons to the expense of running and maintaining them fully is for 1885, as given in the Second Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labour. At that time, taking all the institutions of the country into account, whether conducted under one system or another, the total labour income was forty-nine per cent of the running expenses, and thirty-five per cent of the total expenses. By "total expenses" is meant all expenses for repairs, construction, etc., beyond the purely current running expenses. If the expenses and income under the lease system, which has been a source of profit, be eliminated, the labour income under all other systems was forty-six per cent of the running expenses and thirty-two per cent of the total expenses. Therefore, while here and there a prison has been made to pay, in the sense of bringing into the treasury more money than was taken out of it, the rule is, and has been for many years, practically as shown in the federal report cited. At the present time the proportion of expenses paid out of the receipts from prison labour is less, undoubtedly, than ten years ago.

The objection to the system is not that the convicts work, but that the results of the labour of those who require only food, clothing, and shelter tend to reduce the wages of the labourer. In 1885, the total product (that is, the value of the goods after the materials have been manipulated by the prisoners) of all the penal institutions amounted to $28,753,999, which was about one one-hundred-and-eighty-fifth of the total value of the products of the manufacturing industries of the country in 1880; while the total product of the higher penal institutions only, that is, prisons of the grade of State penitentiaries, was $24,271,078, equivalent to about one two-hundred-and-twenty-secondth of the total value of all manufactured products in 1880. In 1895 the total product of the higher penal institutions only in the United States was $19,042,472, which was but one five-hundredth of the total value of the products of the manufacturing industries of the United States in 1890.

From a wage point of view, the labour of convicts in 1885, from which resulted a product of the value of $28,753,999. amounted to only $3,512,970, or $1 of convict-labour wages to $8.19 of finished product of the labour of convicts. The ratio at the present time is probably less. The total value of the labour expended by the convicts in the State penitentiaries and prisons of like grade at the present time does not much exceed $2,500,000, or a little more than one-thousandth of the total wages paid in the manufacturing industries of the country in 1890.

Thus it will be seen that, whether the State treasury is considered or the competition with labour taken into account, the prison labour question, from a purely economic point of view, need not excite much attention. It is perfectly true that here and there the products of prison labour enter into sharp but very brief competition with goods made outside, and the fear that prices may be lowered and wages affected injuriously by throwing prison-made goods on the market is thus created. In the many investigations which have been made in relation to the prison labour question, few instances have been found where prices have been affected in the least, and rarely a case where wages have been lowered in consequence of the employment of convicts in productive industry. Nevertheless, the moral effect of the supposed competition, and of whatever real competition may have occurred, has been sufficient to create a demand in nearly all the States of the Union for some regulation of the employment of convicts under which competition can be entirely or largely removed, and for the last twenty years or more political platforms have often contained a paradoxical plank demanding that convicts should be employed, not only as a matter of health, but as a source of revenue to the State, but in such a way as to relieve honest industry of competition. It is an absolute impossibility to prevent competition if convicts are to be employed in any way whatever. It must be admitted by all sane men that they should be employed and constantly employed upon intelligent labour. The problem, therefore, so

far as the economics of the question is concerned, is either to reduce the competition to the lowest point or to manufacture goods in such a way and under such conditions that prices and wages can in no sense be affected. This is the whole of the economic side of the question from the productive point of view.

200. The Ethics of Prison Labour.

The ethical side of the problem is far more important, not only in the interest of the community at large, but in the interest of the wage-earners. It is also the more important side of the question when the prisoner himself is considered. No State, under the ethical aspect of government, has any right to expect to make profit, or to permit contractors to do so, out of the labour of prisoners, when this profit is at the expense of their reformation. No man with a particle of humanity in him would for a moment demand that prisoners should be employed in the old, cruel, and barbarous systems known as penal labour, such as running a treadmill or turning a crank. The revolt from these methods, however, carried prison reformers to the opposite extreme, and they assumed that men in prison should be set at work at the same industries and under the same methods existing outside of prisons.

Their position was plausible, their theory fine and probably sound if it had been possible to reduce it to practice, but the reformatory elements came in to defeat their purely theoretical plans, and it is now considered by intelligent penologists that the whole system of prison labour should be adapted to the reformation of men.

In the address of Dr. Brush[1] it is stated that "all men of a scientific turn of mind who have made a study of criminal anthropology are fast approaching the physicians' position regarding such questions. Every criminal is more or less a diseased portion of the body politic; but the notion of pun-

[1] Presidential address delivered before the Society of Medical Jurisprudence at its annual meeting, held January 13, 1896.

ishment should not complicate the judgment in deciding what disposition is to be made in either case. The insane were formerly regarded with feelings of hatred and vindictiveness, but to-day this is only a shameful recollection." It might be added that the notion of making profits out of the diseased members of the body politic should be relegated to the regions of shameful recollection.

The prisoner must be approached now from the physician's point of view. The convict is a morally sick man, and society's rights and duties are limited to his cure, or if incurable, to such treatment as shall not debase him. This is the attitude of the public toward the mentally and physically ill, and why it should not be, to a certain degree, the attitude toward the morally ill is a question that will be discussed more in the future than it has been in the past. This being the case, he should be treated in all respects in such a way as to develop his blunted moral and intellectual faculties. It is this position which makes the return to purely penal labour absolutely impossible under modern thought. Our civilisation will not tolerate it; but in assuming this attitude the rights of others should be as carefully guarded as the rights of the prisoner.

201. Systems of Prison Labour.

The various systems which have been adopted have thus far proved ineffective from the ethical and unsatisfactory from the economic point of view. The contract system is the most profitable one which can be applied to prison labour, but the necessary presence of the contractor and his men in the prisons and among the convicts has been found to work disadvantageously when reformatory measures were being carried along at the same time. The piece-price plan was thought to be a remedy for the evils of the contract system, but the prisoners themselves soon learned that their labour was being exploited for the profit of a private contractor and that the State was getting only the minimum results. The public-account system was then resorted to, under which the institu-

tion carries on the business of manufacturing like a private individual or firm, buying raw materials and converting them into manufactured articles, which are sold in the best available market. A few years ago many labour reformers insisted upon the adoption of this public-account system, on the ground that all profits would then accrue to the State and the irritation resulting from the contract or the piece-price system be avoided. The contrary proved to be true. Under the public-account system the State or the county sold goods in the open market; but the State could not fail, and therefore it was not necessary at all times to dispose of the goods even at cost. The private contractor, in order to preserve his solvency, was obliged to get back at least the cost of his goods. The irritation coming from competition therefore increased, and the public-account system was found to be inadequate from an economic point of view, although it had some advantages from the ethical standpoint, for whatever profit was derived from labour under it was for the benefit of the public treasury. The lease system, now rapidly going out of vogue, plays no part in the ethical question involved, but it was a most profitable system to the States which employed it. The abuses under it have brought it into disrepute.

One of the chief objections to the lease system is that the sum paid by the contractor for a certain amount of labour, or for labour for a certain amount of time, is much less than the wages paid for the same work outside the prison, or outside of the prison forces. This is a demoralising interference with the stability of prices, and is on the whole thoroughly objectionable. The employment of convicts in road-making is often advocated as a solution of the convict-labour problem. Under some circumstances such employment is carried on justly; the chief objection to it is the expense of guarding the bodies of prisoners, and the demoralising influences which come from the sight of convicts at work. Much could be said in its favour in building roads in sparsely settled areas, thus developing the means of intercommunication.

There is now a system of labour, which is advocated very largely and which has been adopted in the State of New York as an experiment, with the motive behind it of reducing competition, or practically removing all competition. Under this modified public-account system, goods are made for the use of the State itself in its various institutions, whether penal, reformatory, or eleemosynary, on the theory or the supposition that the State needs goods enough of various kinds to keep its prisoners practically employed. Should this prove true, the new method will probably be a solution of the economic problems involved, while the ethical demands will be as well satisfied as under any system that can be adopted. There are two reasons why this method may, in some degree at least, prove to be a failure. The first is that the requirements of the State of New York can be supplied through the labour of only a portion of its prisoners. If our State governments supported large bodies of troops and the Federal government had a large standing army, the plan might have some force in it, although in some European countries, where the consumption of goods of the coarser grades, such as shoes, army clothing, camp equipage, etc., is very large, the plan has not been made to work very successfully, for the reason stated, and because of the objections of army officers to the manufacture in prisons of the goods they require for the equipment of their forces. These objections arise not only on account of the quality and make of the goods, but on account of the impracticability of massing a force in any way so as to supply goods upon emergencies.

The second reason why the manufacture of goods for the State will not succeed to the fullest degree anticipated by its advocates has been pointed out by Sir Edmund Du Cane in the "Nineteenth Century" for October, 1896. Although that writer, one of the most intelligent and experienced in the whole world on the subject of prisons and prison labour, believes in this method of employment, he very frankly points out the difficulty arising from the great variety of patterns

of articles to be made, etc. This, perhaps, may be the least of the obstacles in the way of the success of the system. He states that, however desirable industrial labour for prisoners may be from a moral point of view, it is impossible to apply it to more than a small proportion of those sentenced to imprisonment, both on account of the law applicable to prisons and on account of the shortness of the sentences of the large majority. He thinks the difficulties of the State-manufacture method are of much the same kind as are found in utilising convict labour for the construction of public works.

202. Solution of the Prison Labour Question.

Whatever the difficulties, they must be met and will be met, either successfully or unsuccessfully, in the interesting experiment now being conducted by the State of New York. It is to be hoped that success will follow such experiment, for while the manufacture of goods for the use of the State does not avoid competition, — for outside manufacturers will be deprived of business *pro tanto*, — the element of price is entirely removed. The value of the goods made cannot materially affect the price of goods manufactured outside of prisons, nor can there be any appreciable influence upon the wages paid in the regular industries of the State.

Mr. Lathrop, Superintendent of Prisons for the State of New York, wisely insists, as do all right-minded men, that work must be found for the prisoners, and he feels that the question of the employment of convicts is practically solved by the adoption of the method described. Nevertheless, the warden of Sing Sing has adopted some measures which he thinks may be applicable for furnishing employment to idle prisoners, and is following some of the methods adopted at Elmira, which has been called a "technological university." A good deal has been said of late against the introduction of technological studies into prison life. An examination of some of the facts pertaining to prisons, however,

may lead to the conclusion that such methods are wise from every point of view. The average age of the convicts of the United States is not far from twenty-six years. Therefore, the men constituting this body are undeveloped, so far as age is concerned, and generally undeveloped in their moral and intellectual faculties. Careful classification of the convicts of the country shows also that about three-fourths are short-term prisoners, one-eighth incorrigibles, and the other eighth, though in for long terms, still amenable to reformatory efforts. It cannot make very much difference what system is employed, so that prices and wages are not affected, when the short-term men are considered. There is not much to be gained, whether in the interest of the State, or of the community, or of the convicts, in putting them at work under one system of labour as against another. They must be employed; their minds must be occupied, and their hands utilised. It cannot, from the very nature of things, be worth while for the State to erect costly plants for the sake of employing them under one or another system of labour. No one can argue with reason that the short-term prisoner himself is to be particularly benefited by any such employment. The chief point to be insisted upon is that his labour shall not be debasing. If he can be employed in making blankets, furniture, coarse boots and shoes, and the infinite variety of things that may be needed in the State institutions, without the introduction of power machinery, not only the State will be the gainer, but also the prisoner himself. He does not stay in prison long enough, as a rule, to be taught in the higher methods of manual training, and what little he can learn by running some machine is of little consequence in his after life. If he stays long enough in prison, the State should see to it that he comes out better equipped to earn a living than when he entered it.

Looking at the one-eighth representing the incorrigibles, composed of men who should never be returned to society under any circumstances whatever, — men of purely criminal minds, released from prison only to again return to it, — it

must be conceded that it matters little what method or system of labour is employed, so long as they are kept steadily at work in the interest of the State, and in labour that shall not debase them. Crime is their only element, and the whole interest of society is that they should be incarcerated for life. It cannot be argued reasonably that there is any necessity, in any direction whatever, of employing them under one system as against another; they should be kept in honourable and skilful employment; their intellectual and moral powers, so far as they are susceptible of development, should be strengthened, and they should be made to live their lives in an orderly, systematic, and honourable way. If they can be kept at work making goods for the State, that is the very best thing that can be done with them, and in doing this they may learn how to use their minds and hands.

The incorrigibles should not be employed, however, to the detriment of the short-term men, nor of the remaining one-eighth, which may be called the reformable portion. This one-eighth consists largely of young men supposed to be in prison as the result of some spree, or through indiscreet action, accident, or the lack of understanding of the ways we call right and wrong. They are not supposed to have become convicts through criminal minds or through tendencies which they prefer to retain. Such men should not only be sentenced on the indeterminate principle, but every effort which the State is capable of making should be made to bring them into harmonious relation with law-abiding citizens. The manufacture of goods for the State, with all their variety, is the very best work on which this reformable body can be employed. If there be not work enough to keep the whole body of prisoners employed steadily, it should be concentrated upon the incorrigibles and the short-term men, while the reformable fraction of prisoners should be given the benefits of the training which Warden Sage proposes to introduce at Sing Sing.

From a mere modernised penitentiary the Elmira Reformatory has been developed into a great compulsory educational

establishment for employing felons and corrigibles. Moral, mental, and manual training have been systematically co-ordinated, with the end in view of turning out practical, self-supporting, self-controlling citizens. As the editor of "The Summary," a periodical published at the Elmira Reformatory (the editor himself being an inmate of the institution), puts it, the reformatory prescription consists of a trinity of M's, — mental, moral, and manual training, — and these ingredients have been used in varying proportions, according to the needs of the patient. The reformatory has firmly established itself as something more than an experiment, although its wise manager, Dr. Brockway, continues to rank it as an experimental station, inasmuch as opportunity is constantly afforded for the trial of plans that offer promise of aid in accomplishing the avowed purposes of the reformatory.

Looking at the matter squarely, then, the economic side of the question is not of sufficient importance to demand drastic treatment. The question of profits has been lost sight of through the force of necessity. It is the State's duty to treat its moral invalids with the same fairness in recognising their illness that it shows to its mental and physical invalids. It certainly has no right to expect to make profit out of either. Its whole duty, then, is to approach all three classes, the dependent, the delinquent, and the defective, from the point of view of the physician. Their bodies must be kept in the best condition, and their moral and mental attributes trained and strengthened. By giving more attention to this ethical side of the problem, the best economic results will be reached sooner or later.

Prisons have not been so effectively deterrent as it was formerly supposed they would be; punishment has not accomplished the ends sought. Revenge is not a part of the State's duty, but the protection of society is its sole duty, and criminals are a part of society. That method of treatment, therefore, which will reduce the number of criminals and bring them back to society as cured and industrious citizens will also

eventually reduce the expense to the State and the annoyance and irritation and danger which come from the presence of a body of criminals. Whatever conduces to this result, whether it be the employment of prisoners solely for the benefit of the State or teaching them how to employ their minds and hands when they leave the prisons, must be the true course; the size of the deficit in the State treasury resulting therefrom, or the trifling competition which follows, are of but little account. In place of the old rule for the running of prisons, — profits, with incidental reformatory results, — the new rule will hold sway, — reformation, with incidental profits.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION.

203. References.

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204. Production and Consumption of Liquors.

Could the facts be ascertained and properly classified, it would probably be shown that the most gigantic evils which society has to deal with are those which come from licentiousness, with its heritage of stupendous crimes, individual

suffering, and a burden borne by posterity. Next to this, intemperance, in its usual sense of excessive use of stimulants, especially the alcoholic, may be ranked as the most distinctive evil of society.

The difficulties of regulating the evil are great, because the influences arising from it are complicated and insidious. Could the results of intemperance be confined to the individual, the evil might be regulated or controlled. The ramifications are so great and the interests involved so varied and extensive, that one may well become discouraged when studying the efforts society has already made to protect itself. The extent of the traffic; the magnitude of the drink bill; the influence upon idleness, wastefulness, pauperism, and crime; the vast amount of capital involved; the enormous consumption of raw materials to supply the manufacture of liquors of all kinds, — all these features must be considered when any attempt is made to regulate the liquor traffic. Fortunately, the data at hand enable us to get some idea of the material proportions of the traffic.

On the question of consumption the facts from a late report of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department (1897–98) may be tabulated as follows: —

Kind of Liquor.	Consumption (in gallons) of liquors for the Year ending June 30, 1898.	Consumption (in gallons) per capita.		
		1898.	1870.	1840.
Distilled Spirits, Domestic and Imported	81,535,884	1.10	2.07	2.52
Wines, Domestic and Imported	23,680,950	.28	.32	.29
Malt Liquors, Domestic and Imported .	1,163,109,339	15.64	5.31	1.36
Total	1,268,326,173	17.05	7.70	4.17

This enormous increase since 1840 in gallons consumed *per capita* is due, it will be seen at once, to the consumption of

malt liquors, there being a constant decrease in the consumption of distilled spirits and wines. Although there has been an increase during some years of the period from 1840 to the present time in the consumption of wines, it is now less than it was fifty-eight years ago. Along with this decrease in the consumption of "hard liquors" and wines, and the great increase in the use of malt liquors, there have been very great changes in the habits of the people at large, intemperance being much less at the present time than at any former period.[1]

According to the United States Census of 1890, the capital invested in the production of all kinds of liquors was nearly $270,000,000, and the annual product was valued at about $290,000,000. The grain consumed in the manufacture of all kinds of liquors for the year ending June 30, 1896, amounted to nearly 60,000,000 bushels, besides large quantities of other materials, and the value of the materials thus employed was something over $80,000,000.

It is quite impossible to state in values the amount of the drink bill, because the official statistics deal only with quan-

[1] According to Mulhall, the consumption of all kinds of liquor per inhabitant for different countries is as follows: —

Country.	Gallons per Inhabitant.			
	Wine.	Beer and Cider.	Spirits.	Equivalent in Alcohol.
United Kingdom	0.4	27.0	0.9	1.9
France	19.0	11.0	1.9	3.5
Germany	2.5	18.0	1.3	2.2
Russia	0 5	0.9	1.0	0.6
Austria	5.2	6.5	1 6	1.6
Italy	16.5	1.0	0.4	1.9
Spain	15.0	0.3	0.3	1.7
Portugal	12.7	0.2	0.2	1.5
Sweden	0.4	6.2	4.2	2.3
Norway	0.4	5.0	3.5	2.0
Denmark	0.5	12.5	4.0	2.5
Holland	0.7	8.8	2.6	1.8
Belgium	0.7	28.5	1.6	2.0
Switzerland	10.0	3.3	1.7	2.0
Roumania	3.0	1.8	1.0	1.0
Servia	5.0	2.0	1.0	1.5

tities, and any estimate of value must be the result of calculation. The total production of distilled liquors for the year ending June 30, 1898, was nearly 84,000,000 gallons; fermented liquors, in round numbers, 1,350,000,000 gallons; domestic wines (estimated), 22,000,000 gallons; or a total production of liquors of all kinds, of nearly 1,457,000,000 gallons. There were consumed in the arts, manufactures, and for medicinal purposes, in 1890, 10,976,842 proof gallons, which amount is included in the *per capita* consumption as stated.

205. Public Revenue from the Liquor Traffic.

There have been many private attempts to ascertain the amount or extent of the liquor traffic, but the calculations have always been made on observations of narrow range. Under recent investigations by the U. S. Department of Labour the facts have been obtained for nearly 30,000 places of business, engaged either in part or exclusively in the liquor traffic. Allowing that the positive information collected from this large number of places would apply equally to the 161,483 places or establishments in the United States which pay a Federal tax to engage in the traffic, it is found that the capital invested exclusively in the traffic amounts to nearly $960,000,000, in the hands of 191,000 proprietors or firm members, with nearly 242,000 employees. Of the whole number of establishments, over nineteen-twentieths are engaged in the retail liquor traffic, and less than one-twentieth in the wholesale and retail traffic combined, or the wholesale alone; 73+ per cent were engaged exclusively in the liquor traffic, and 26+ per cent in the liquor traffic in connection with some other business.

The revenue derived from the liquor traffic, including the manufacture and sale of liquors of all kinds for the year ending June 30, 1896, and from other sources, was $183,213,125. Out of this amount the United States received for internal revenue tax, $114,450,862; other State and local license fees

or special taxes amounted to $49,565,540 (State license fees or special taxes, $10,399,016; the counties, $5,011,225; the municipalities, $34,155,299). The total fines received by States, counties, and municipalities amounted to $1,003,773.

The tax paid on real and personal property engaged in the manufacture of liquors is estimated at $1,225,806, and that on real and personal property of establishments engaged in the liquor traffic, $10,075,120; the customs duties on imported liquors amounted to $6,736,063; if a few other comparatively small items be added, the total public revenue from all sources reached $183,213,125.[1]

The cost of collecting this vast revenue cannot be stated with any definiteness, for States, counties, and municipalities collect their fees and fines by officers having other duties. The Federal revenue officers also have other duties to perform than those connected with the manufacture of liquor, but an indicative statement can be made from the total expense of collecting all the Federal internal revenue for the year under

[1] The classification of total revenue, as given in the report referred to, is as follows: —

Tax on Real and Personal Property employed in Liquor Manufacture (estimated)	$1,225,805.85
Tax on Real and Personal Property employed in Liquor Traffic (estimated)	10,075,120.00
Ad valorem Tax in Kentucky and Missouri	32,115.70
United States Internal Revenue Tax	114,450,861.77
License Fees or Special Taxes, States	10,399,015.60
License Fees or Special Taxes, Counties	5,011,225.06
License Fees or Special Taxes, Municipalities	34,155,299.25
Fines, States	91,299.56
Fines, Counties	378,557.75
Fines, Municipalities	533,916.01
Fines, Sales of Confiscated Liquors, etc., United States (estimated)	123,844.96
Customs Duties on Imported Liquors	6,736,063.00
Total	$183,213,124.51

It is impossible that the items as stated in the text should give the total $183,213,125, since this total includes, as stated, "a few other comparatively small items."

consideration; it was, from liquors, tobacco, and all other sources, $4,086,293. The cost of collecting the total liquor revenues alone by the Federal government is, of course, less than the sum just stated.

206. Prohibition.

The attempts in this country to regulate the liquor traffic have resulted in four methods, — prohibition, license, local option, and State account. Under prohibition the laws prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors of any kind, or regulate the manufacture and prohibit the sale thereof. Opinions as to the effects of prohibition in those States in which it has been attempted differ widely. Probably at the present time the most ardent prohibitionist would not insist that prohibitory laws have succeeded in destroying the liquor traffic. In small places such laws have no doubt resulted in the fairly complete suspension of the retail liquor business, but it cannot be claimed that such results have been effected in cities; and when not enforced the system prevents limiting the traffic in any other way.

Prohibitory laws have been very irritating in their effects, because in order to accomplish their purpose many minor provisions are essential, such as the prohibition of transporting liquors, or having liquors in one's possession for purpose of sale, or renting property for the conduct of the liquor business; hence many petty crimes or misdemeanours have been the result of the execution of prohibitory laws. On the other hand, the most ardent opponent of prohibition, if he be a temperance man, would say that could the purposes of prohibition be carried out, society would be the gainer. It is true, nevertheless, that the regulation of the liquor traffic through prohibitory legislation has not been as successful as its advocates would desire, and is not now gaining ground. One constant difficulty is in the authorised use of liquor for medicinal purposes, which makes the druggists suspected and often guilty of liquor-selling. There is, of course, a certain ethical influ-

ence resulting from prohibition which is reflected upon the people; it is the ethics of total abstinence as an example to others. This is healthy in itself, and whatever law or system calls attention to the good effects of total abstinence must be considered an effective instrumentality in securing temperance reform.

Perhaps the most important effort to break up the drink habit is to be found in the action of employers of labour, especially the management of great railroads. It is becoming very largely the custom of such employers to insist upon employees being sober, and especially in railroad employment of abstaining absolutely from the use of intoxicants. This is one of the most hopeful signs of the times.

207. License.

Regulation through license has been more frequent than prohibition. The immorality of license is claimed by its opponents as one of the strongest arguments for its disuse. It is maintained that the government has no right to derive income through the prosecution of a harmful traffic; that where the government with one hand undertakes to regulate or by law declares the liquor traffic to be a nuisance, it should not with the other secure revenue for the maintenance of the government itself. The advocates of the liquor system claim that by it the number of places where liquor can be obtained for personal consumption is reduced, and the lowest places closed by the self-interest of those who pay for licenses. License is therefore partial prohibition; it results in the selection of places where liquor can be obtained rather than in the closing of all places, or, on the other hand, of allowing everybody to sell who desires to engage in the business.

The method of assessing a high license that shall in itself be prohibitory on the lower grades of saloons and liquor stores has great weight, and is very popular in many localities. Through it revenue is increased, and the number of places where liquor can be obtained decreased. Much popular in-

dignation is usually expressed against this method because of its tendency to make the liquor traffic aristocratic, and to prevent the man of small means from obtaining what others of larger means can secure. These license features are considered by the prohibitionist as immoral, chiefly because they compromise with what is considered to be a criminal business.

208. Local Option.

There is another popular method employed, combining prohibition and license. Under local option the legislature of a State provides that any municipality which chooses to vote against granting any licenses for the liquor traffic may do so, or it may vote to issue licenses. This leaves the whole matter to local public will. It is curious to note the experience of municipalities under a local option system in shifting from one method to the other, one year granting licenses by popular vote, and another year prohibiting them. On the other hand, several large cities, especially Cambridge, Mass., have for long terms of years voted against the liquor traffic, and have, so far as votes show, nearly crushed it out.

The prohibition party condemn this method more than any other for the reason that by it the legislature delegates the power to define a crime to municipalities, instead of defining it by law for all municipalities within the State, and for the further reason that if in one town licenses are prohibited and the sale of liquor made a crime, persons who wish to obtain it can, by crossing the line into a town that grants licenses, purchase it without criminal results. So what is a crime on one side of the boundary line is not a crime on the other, and the result is sometimes a curious complication.

The advocates of local option and license answer the prohibitionist, when the argument of immorality is raised, that under prohibition, when liquor saloons are closed, the proprietors furnish their customers with individual keys and turn their saloons into private clubs. This practice in an Eastern State

some years ago became so thoroughly abused that it resulted in the repeal of the prohibition laws and the enactment of license regulations.

All these methods are on trial. Each one is open to many objections; each has some advantages. Only through long experience will the public be able to determine just which is the best method of regulating the liquor traffic. In the mean time the crusade against the manufacture and sale of liquors and in the interest of temperance goes on, the drinking habits of the people change, and the reform is quietly being accomplished, for notwithstanding the increased consumption of malt liquors, there is a decrease in that of spirituous and distilled liquors, the use of the latter being considered far more harmful than the former.

209. Systems of State Account.

In Europe there has been little attempt at prohibition; the regulation of the liquor traffic, wherever it has been attempted, has been through some method of license. There is a method in vogue in Norway and Sweden popularly known as the Norwegian or Gothenburg system, which has many very ardent supporters. The government grants to a competent company a monopoly of the sale of liquors within certain geographical limits, and sales must be made only at a certain advance beyond cost, usually not exceeding six per cent profit; the surplus over expenses is to be disposed of by the State in various ways, usually in the support of some line of charity work or kindred object.

The principle of this system is that by it the inducement to enter the liquor traffic is removed, by taking away the possibility of making great gains; for if the liquor traffic can be made no more profitable than other trades, there will be less desire to enter it. There is probably much in this claim, and on account of it the Norwegian system has been advocated in the United States, but as yet has been nowhere adopted, except in a modified form in the State of South Carolina. The

results there, however, have not been quite equal to the expectations of the authorities, and the original act has been held by the courts to be unconstitutional. A more recent law, recognising the constitutional defects of the first and modifying to some extent the original provisions, has been held by the United States Supreme Court to be constitutional. Temperance advocates oppose the Norwegian system for the same reason that they oppose all forms of license laws, on the ground that it is a compromise with evil, and that the last thing they desire is to make the business respectable.

The results in Norway and Sweden have been fairly satisfactory. Drunkenness has decreased in certain places, and the consumption of liquors fallen off; in others the facts do not show clearly that any great advantage has been gained by the adoption of the system. Advocates of the temperance measures in various countries are watching the results of the Norwegian experiment, as they are everywhere watching the various other experiments for the regulation of the liquor traffic.

The statistics showing arrests and convictions under different systems of regulation (see ch. xxi.) are not particularly trustworthy. They sometimes show that under prohibition there is much more drinking than under license. This results from the fact that municipal police officers have been, as a rule, more favorably disposed towards the license system than prohibition. The politics of cities, too, has sometimes worked against prohibition, and arrests for the slightest cause under prohibitory laws have resulted in adding to the criminal statistics, while under the license system great leniency is shown to those found on the streets under the influence of liquor.

Of course, the great question is, from the sociological standpoint, Can prohibition be made really effective when evidence can hardly be obtained except from the drinker or the seller, both of whom have an interest in keeping the business up; and which of the four systems really does most to keep temptation out of the way of men not yet addicted to liquor?

210. The Influence of Intemperance upon Crime.

The usual argument against intemperance is that it causes an increase in the volume of crime and in the number of paupers. What the temperance advocate has stood most in need of, is the solid strength of facts collected and collated in a thorough and systematic manner. Unfortunately, such a collection does not exist for any very wide period of time or extent of territory; but the few facts that have been collected officially are significant and valuable. In 1880 an examination was made in the nine criminal courts of Suffolk County, Massachusetts, for one year, the attempt being made to ascertain the influence of intemperance in the commission of crimes not directly connected with the sale or use of liquor. It has been shown (see statistics of crime, ch. xxi.) that sixty per cent of all the sentences for crime in the Commonwealth during twenty years were distinctively liquor offences. It was found that of the 16,897 total sentences for the year 1880 (the distinctive liquor offences being included), 12,221 were for the various grades of drunkenness, and 68 for liquor-keeping and liquor-selling without license. This leaves 4,608, or 27+ per cent, for other crimes.

To ascertain the influence of intemperance in the commission of this 27+ per cent of the crimes, inquiry was made on five points: first, whether the criminal was under the influence of liquor at the time the crime was committed; second, whether he was in liquor at the time he formed the intent to commit the crime; third, whether the intemperate habits of the criminal were such as to lead to the condition which induced the crime; fourth, whether the intemperate habits of others led the criminal to a condition which induced the crime; fifth, what the drinking habit of the criminal was, that of total abstainer, moderate drinker, or excessive drinker. These inquiries were made by special agents stationed in the courts (with the co-operation of judges and officers of the courts), who were instructed to follow up the case through research

when the facts were not obtainable from testimony or the records of the court. It appeared from the results that of the 4,608 cases, 2,097 of the offenders were in liquor at the time of the commission of offences; 1,918 were in liquor at the time of the formation of the criminal intent; the intemperate habits of 1,804 were such as to induce a moral condition favourable to crime; 821 were led to the criminal action through the contagion of intemperance. Of the 4,608 convicted persons the total abstainers numbered 1,158; moderate drinkers, 1,918; and the excessive drinkers, 1,317. Since in 16,897 other cases conviction was for distinctive liquor crimes, by adding the 2,097 in liquor at the time of committing other crimes, we have a total of 18,994, or 84+ per cent of all the cases passing through the criminal courts during the year to be charged directly or indirectly to the influence of liquor. This does not mean that nearly 85 per cent of the volume of crime was due to the influence of liquor. The statement is that 84+ per cent of the cases were due directly or indirectly to the influence of intoxicants. Of course, many of the crimes committed by the remaining 15+ per cent were of such a serious nature as to outweigh several of the minor liquor crimes.

A somewhat similar investigation in Massachusetts was made in 1895 by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labour, under specific direction of the legislature. The summary of the conclusions of the officers of the bureau disclose the fact that out of 26,672 convictions in the State for various offences during twelve consecutive months, 17,575, or about 66 in every hundred, were convictions for drunkenness; 657, or a little over two in every hundred, were for drunkenness in combination with other offences. So 18,232 convictions, or a little over 68 in every hundred, included drunkenness either wholly or in part as a cause for the conviction. In 21,863 cases, or 82 in every hundred, the offender was in liquor at the time the offence was committed; in 8,440 cases in which drunkenness did not form a part of the offence, — that is, in

which the offender was convicted of a crime other than drunkenness, — 3,640, or a little over 43 in every hundred, were cases in which the offender was in liquor at the time the offence was committed; and 4,852, or 57 in every hundred, were cases in which the offender was in liquor at the time the intent was formed to commit the offence. Out of the whole number of cases (26,672), there were therefore 22,514 in which the intemperate habits of the offender led to a condition which induced the crime; this is about 84 per cent of the whole number, or practically the identical proportion shown in the investigation of 1880. It was also shown that in over 16,000 cases the intemperate habits of persons other than the offender were said to have been influential in the commitment of the offence; that 25,000 of the whole number, or about 94 per cent, were addicted to the use of liquor; that the excessive drinkers numbered 4,500 and over, and the total abstainers only 1,500 and over.

211. Intemperance and Pauperism.

In regard to pauperism, this investigation in 1895 proved that out of 3,230 paupers (that being the total number found in all the State institutions during twelve consecutive months), 2,108, or about 65 in every hundred, were addicted to the use of liquor; nearly 48 in every hundred had one or both parents intemperate; something over 39 in every hundred attributed their pauperism to their intemperate habits; and five in every hundred considered their pauperism due to the intemperance of their parents, one or both.

212. A Study of the Temperance Question.

The student of sociology will be glad to know that there is being undertaken at the present time, under the direction of the Committee of Fifty, a very extensive investigation relative to the influence of intemperance upon crime, pauperism, and insanity, and the results are being looked forward to with much interest. This committee had its origin at a meeting in New

York in 1893, when a few men were led to consider the possibility of bringing together the results of educated opinion upon the subject of drink, so as to get some sort of consensus of the competent. Leading physiologists, economists, and moralists are found on the committee. Its purpose has been to collect and collate impartially all accessible facts which bear upon the problem. The actual work of the committee is conducted by four sub-committees, — one on the physiological aspect of the drink problem, one on its legislative aspect, one on its ethical aspect, and one on its economic aspect. The physiological sub-committee is engaged in a large variety of statistical and laboratory researches, while the legislative committee has already published a volume relating to the effects of different laws. The ethical committee is engaged in a series of inquiries into the relation of the drink problem to the home, to food, recreation, and other aspects of social life; it is also carefully inquiring into the quality of instruction on temperance now given so widely in the public schools. The economic committee confines its researches to the relation of the liquor problem to poverty, crime, insanity, the habits of different nationalities in the United States, the production and consumption of liquor, and the revenue derived from the traffic. The first requisite in any social problem is to throw light upon it, and this is the office of the Committee of Fifty so far as the liquor problem is concerned.

CHAPTER XXIV.

REGULATION OF ORGANISATIONS.

213. References.

Washington Gladden, *Social Facts and Forces*, ch. iii.; Allen R. Foote and Charles E. Everett, *The Law of Incorporated Companies*; Francis A. Walker, *Socialism*, in *Scribner's Magazine*, New Series, I. 107 (Feb., 1887); Henry D. Lloyd, *Wealth against Commonwealth*; Ernst von Halle, *Trusts, or Industrial Combinations in the United States*; George Gunton, *Why we have Trusts*, in *Gunton Institute Bulletin*, December 11, 1897; F. J. Stimson, *Hand-Book to the Labor Laws of the United States* and *Labor in its Relations to Law*; Henry C. Adams, *Relation of the State to Industrial Action*; W. Stanley Jevons, *The State in Relation to Labor*; F. W. Dallinger, *Nominations to Elective Office*.

214. Political Organisations.

Society, through its constituted agent, government, does not interfere with the voluntary organisations or associations of individuals unless they have business functions, seek to own property, or in some way affect the material interests of the body politic, as pointed out in the chapter on Social Units. The innumerable societies which exist have their own regulations, which must not in any way contravene law. So long as the associations are peaceful and attend to the purposes for which they are created, they are not the subject of government supervision. There is another class of organisations created by specific acts or which government itself seeks to control or regulate in some degree.

The organisation of the political parties, which must of necessity exist in any country where suffrage has been granted, is purely voluntary, and there has been little or no attempt to regulate their actions, so far as their purely party purposes are concerned. It is only very recently that statutes have been

passed giving any direction to the methods by which party organisations shall carry out their objects, and such regulation has come about principally by the use of what is known as the Australian ballot. Formerly, when a party, through its primary meetings, its district, State, or national conventions, had made its nominations and had perfected its organisation all along the line of progressive action, little remained to be done besides providing proper ballots to be used at the polls. After the ballots were cast it was the duty of the officers of the government, as represented in towns, cities, counties, and States, to receive and count them, classify them, and make proper announcement of the results to the State officers designated by law for such purposes; but up to the casting of the ballot government had little or nothing to do except to preserve order. Now, with the use of the Australian ballot, the machinery of voting has been greatly complicated. By its use voters are required to retire by themselves and check the names of the candidates of their choice, individually or in block, the names of the candidates of all parties being upon one ballot or series of ballots, as the law may provide, and the voter must be able to read his ballot and check the names of the candidates of his choice. This is done in secret, and he then deposits the whole ballot with the names checked. It will be seen at once that all this requires careful preparation, as a result of which the legislatures of many States where the Australian ballot is in use have regulated the times and methods of holding the primary meetings, or caucuses, as they are called, in towns and the wards of cities, and especially the method of returning the results of their action. They must be called in a certain way; the check list, or the official list of those persons entitled to vote, used in balloting in order to prevent fraud or duplicate voting, must be prepared according to law, and all measures looking to an orderly, free expression of the choice of the voters attending the meetings must be observed.

All nominees under this system must be certified to and

sent to the proper officers of the town, city, or State within the time prescribed by law. From these nominations or certificates of nominations the proper officers make up the official ballot, which is then distributed through proper channels for the use of voters on election day. Of course, law provides penalties for illegal voting and for attempts to bribe voters, in the latter case punishing both those who offer the bribe and those who receive it, and in every way seeks to protect the purity and integrity of the action of political parties. Other than these regulations, they are quite free to act in their own way, and the interest in party politics always secures very efficient and careful organisation.

It will be observed that this system throws on State officers, when two tickets are offered, both purporting to come from the same party, the duty of deciding which is the regular ticket and therefore entitled to a place on the general ballot, and also what persons have the necessary signatures for independent candidacy. There are also in some States laws on the holding of all party caucuses, in which again State officers become the arbiters. The so-called "non-partisan" boards of various kinds, in which members must by law be divided between two or more parties, are another example of the official recognition of party lines.

215. Corporations.

Since the corporate method of transacting business has become general, the body of laws relative to business organisations has been greatly extended. Statutes have always regulated business matters in a certain sense, defining responsibilities and, in the case of co-partnerships, making regulations for their formation, but for the regulation of the corporation new legislation has been invoked.

A business corporation may be formed for any legitimate purpose of trade or production, and statutes everywhere prescribe the form and method of organisation; usually three or more persons may agree to form a company for a specified

purpose, and after having complied in a preliminary way with statutory provisions, the proper officers of the government, usually the secretary of state or some officer of like dignity and grade, may issue a certificate of incorporation, when the organisation may enter upon the active conduct of the business specified. Statutes make provision as to the shares of stock in such a company, the method of issuing the certificate of stock, the liability of stockholders, and all the methods of procedure which such a company must adopt. These corporations have become very common, even where a few persons only are interested. Many private firms prefer to take on the corporate form, partly in order to avoid the difficulty of settling estates which exists when co-partnerships are concerned. Should a stockholder of a corporation die, the corporate person as known in law continues, the stock or the certificate of the deceased's interest in the business being carried by his representatives as property rather than as a direct personal share in the business itself.

Legislative action goes farther than to regulate merely the method of organisation of corporations. As the liabilities of the stockholders are limited by law and clearly defined, and the corporation itself is the creation of the legislative power of the government, it has been held reasonable that the affairs of a corporation should in a certain sense be made public, so that all persons may be aware of its condition. This result in most States is brought about by periodic returns, sworn to by the managers of the corporation and filed with the proper officer of the government. In some States these returns are classified and published in printed reports. The returns must specify the property of the company, its debts, its capital stock, number of stockholders (and sometimes the names of the stockholders and the number of shares each holds), the market value of stock, and, in fact, all matters which may serve a creditor in his endeavour to learn the condition of a business company.

Certain classes of corporations must seek a special act of

incorporation. A general law usually provides for all ordinary business corporations; but banks, and in some States railroads and companies which seek to own large amounts of property, must be incorporated by special act of the legislature. In these cases the incorporators are granted a charter, clearly setting forth all the business purposes of the company and defining its powers, limitations, responsibilities, capital, etc. All these regulations are necessary for the protection of the public in its business interests.

In the matter of railroads State and national statutes have gone so far as to grant to the governments certain powers of supervision, through the establishment of boards known as railroad commissioners. These commissioners have power to regulate certain matters connected with the conduct of railroads, like the location of tracks and stations, the running of trains, especially on Sunday, the inspection of tracks and bridges, the qualifications of employees, and in many ways performing duties which are in the interest of the public in protecting it against accidents and securing it safe and comfortable conveniences. In some cases these commissioners have limited powers relative to freight and passenger rates.

In 1887 the United States government passed the interstate commerce act for the regulation of interstate commerce, giving a commission power to inquire into all matters relating to common carriers engaged in commerce between the States. The primary object of the law was to prevent the roads from cutting, reducing, or raising freight rates, so as to arbitrarily interfere with the regularity and stability of internal commerce. The law prohibited pooling, that is, an agreement to divide the traffic and the proceeds of the whole freight business passing over several competing railroads by pre-arrangement, so that each should carry a fixed proportion; or an agreement to divide the proceeds of all the roads in a fixed system. Now the demand is made upon Congress to abrogate this provision and allow the pooling of freights, giving the Interstate Commerce Commission power to revise the results of any

pooling contract. These regulations carry State control of railroads about as far as it can go without taking the conduct of the roads over to the government itself. The power and expansion of corporate interests, and especially of railroads, seem to demand, for the welfare of the public, at least as much regulation as that now in existence, and it is probable that this course will grow more essential as time goes on.

A class of corporations which has been brought under very strict government regulation includes banks and fiduciary companies of all kinds. The banking business of the country is performed now by both private and public banks, the former having no right to issue notes; they are banks of deposit and discount only. The public banks, now known as national banks, are organised under Federal law, and, in addition to a deposit and discount business, may issue notes in due proportion to their capital; these notes are guaranteed by the Federal government, which guarantee is made safe through the deposit with the Treasurer of the United States of the government's own bonds to an amount sufficient to more than cover the note issues of the individual banks. Federal legislation, therefore, is interested in and responsible to a large extent for the business of national banks; it makes minute regulations for the conduct of their business, prescribes the amount of capital which may be subscribed on a certain amount of bonds deposited, the value of the notes which may be issued, and in many ways securing the integrity of the national banking business.

Private banks are not subject to any regulations beyond those applying to other corporations, and when conducted by an individual or a co-partnership they are under no regulations whatever beyond the laws applying to the conduct of business generally; they are trusted by the public on account of confidence in the owners or managers and the amount of capital invested to secure the business of the concern.

Savings banks may be mutual or stock companies. They are regulated very carefully by the State governments, which

have considered them their peculiar wards. This is proper, because the savings bank is an institution which seeks primarily to lead the people into frugal ways, by offering them the opportunity to make small deposits, oftentimes as low as one cent, and after the accumulation of a small amount paying a certain rate of interest. By this method the savings banks collect the small savings of a large number of people, which in the aggregate make a very large sum of money to be invested by the managers of the bank. The few cases of failure of savings banks have been usually due to the managers loaning money on insufficient security. In most States where savings banks are common, commissioners are appointed by the executive, whose duty it is to look after, inspect, and supervise the business of these institutions.

Most of the State governments also wisely provide many very strict regulations relating to the conduct of insurance business; for the individual who wishes to protect his family and leave something to it in case of his misfortune or decease should have his interests particularly guarded by law and by government officers. The usual officer is known as an insurance commissioner; it is his duty to examine periodically the affairs of all insurance companies doing business within his State, whether organised there or in other places, to carefully investigate their methods, and to make a public return of the condition of the companies. Insurance companies may be organised like any other business corporations, but there are generally many special regulations relating to them that do not pertain to other business concerns.

In general, therefore, so far as ordinary business operations are concerned, the people are fairly protected against frauds and the liability to misplace their confidence or credits. Notwithstanding these regulations, corporations are often organised simply for the purpose of selling its stock in the market, and then quietly ceasing its business operations. Such operations or "stock booms," in spite of law, frequently take place, and many innocent persons are swindled. On the whole, however,

the regulations relating to business organisations are very satisfactory, although no statute can prevent a man's being a rascal and taking the risk of punishment.

216. Trusts.

In late years a form of business that has become familiar is known as the trust, which is usually a union of several corporations, companies, or concerns to control a particular line of business. A trust does not consist simply of an association of three or more persons; it numbers directly or indirectly corporate persons, which may be vast organisations already created, either in the form of co-partnerships or business corporations. The increase of these combinations in the United States has caused many people to fear that they are a menace to the general welfare: first, because through their power concentrated capital may influence legislatures and congresses to pass laws in their interest, contrary to the interests of the public at large; second, because they crush out smaller concerns, thus destroying the opportunity of men to become managers of individual business enterprises; third, because by their action they may raise prices by a restriction of production, or by a combination raise prices without reference to production, through their power to control trade; fourth, because through their control of a certain trade they are able to keep wages down, and thus injure the prospects of the wage-receiver. These specifications embody the general fears of those who see in the trust organisation a menace to society.

Usually the combination is for the control of a special line of business; for instance, there might be a trust consisting of the principal iron firms and companies, for the purpose of controlling the whole business of manufacturing and selling pig-iron. If the trust organisations find that there are too many companies engaged in this business, they induce those concerns to pool their stock, — that is, to turn in their previous holdings to a common treasury, — when new certificates are issued on

a *pro rata* basis to each of the companies represented. This puts all the power connected with the pig-iron business in the hands of one corporation, for each contributing corporation agrees to abide by certain rules as to production or prices, and thus is assured a power to crush out any small concerns which do not see fit to enter the trust. The managers of the combination may order a certain amount of production from one class of works, and shift the production at another season to another class; hence labour complains that the trust is a menace to its interests.

Naturally, there have been many attempts to regulate this form of organisation. So far as they have been simply enlarged corporations, they have been held legal; but in many cases this enormous power has been enjoyed by persons who feel no obligation to make public returns of their business or to submit to public restrictions. Hence the attempt has been made to regulate them by law. The United States in 1890 enacted the anti-trust law, which declares that every contract, combination in the form of a trust or other wise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations is illegal. The phraseology proved a boomerang, and has led to the complaints by workingmen stated in the treatment of government by injunction (see chapter xvi.). The constitutionality of the law of 1890 is based upon the provision of the Constitution which gives Congress power to regulate trade or commerce among the States and with foreign nations, and the suspicion that a trust or business combination might result in restraining the trade or commerce between the States. It makes every person who undertakes or attempts to monopolise, or who combines or conspires with any other person or persons to monopolise, any particular trade or commerce among the several States, guilty of a misdemeanour, and punishable on conviction by imprisonment not to exceed one year, or by fine not to exceed $5,000, or by both such punishments, as the discretion of the court may determine. Many States have undertaken to regulate

trusts by similar laws, but so far these laws have not been instrumental in preventing their organisation.

Many such combinations have been broken through the independent action of some company or concern which grows uneasy at the terms of the trust; such a member sometimes sees an opportunity to increase production or dispose of goods at an advanced price, and does so without reference to the trust rules, and thus breaks the influence of the combination. Thus natural impatience has often destroyed what law itself could not influence.

A few great trusts have survived both the attacks of public opinion and the influences of law. They claim to be legal; that they have as good a right to their form of organisation as any other body. They contend that they are in no way a menace to the public interests, because their capital is worthless unless used in the interest of the public, no return being possible unless the public is faithfully served; that they secure stability of employment by regulating production, thus avoiding many of the disturbances which come to the ordinary business establishment; that they secure uniformity of price, and thus every purchaser knows what he will be obliged to pay for his goods. They further claim to have reduced the prices of their goods in very large degree, and that under the trust method of production there is a uniformity of quality that cannot be secured under the ordinary methods.

The whole question is a very interesting one to the sociologist. The rights of the public are certainly involved; but so long as trusts really do conduct their affairs in the interest of the public, and thereby secure a fair profit, and wages, on the whole, are kept stable and quality uniform, the public will make little or no complaint beyond that which naturally comes through the power of centralised capital. In many cases the trust is simply a big corporation, which terrifies by its size; in other cases it encourages the protection of its property, while refusing to admit proper legal responsibility.

217. Labour Organisations.

There has been but little attempt to regulate or control labour organisations since the trade unions became fairly established. Probably they have prevented legislation hostile to them more frequently than they have been able to secure laws which they desired. In the eyes of the law, labour unions, without reference to their particular tenets, are purely voluntary associations, brought into existence for the purpose of protecting the rights and interests of their members and furthering their prospects as to wages, hours of labour, and rules and regulations under which employed. Nearly all States have provided that such unions may be incorporated, like general philanthropic and benevolent associations, but as yet they have not seen fit to take advantage of such laws. The only statutes which relate particularly to labour unions in protecting them or regulating them are those concerning the use of the union label on goods manufactured by union labour and protecting members of unions from being discharged because of their membership.

Trade unions are lawful in this country, and generally in all countries, or, in other words, they are not illegal. Their acts may be illegal, but their organisations are as lawful as any that may be created. They have their own by-laws, penalties, etc., and may enforce them under their own rules so long as those rules do not contravene public law.

Many States make it a misdemeanour for any employer to discharge employees for joining labour unions, or even for exacting pledges from them to the end that they shall not join any union or contribute to any benefit funds as a prerequisite for employment.

In reference to the use of the union label, which has been explained when treating of the sweating system (see chapter xiii.), it has been held by the courts that the union using it has no protection under the trade-mark laws of the Federal government, upon the assumption that labourers as such have no

individual property rights in the results of their labour, and hence the counterfeiting of their trade-mark could not in any way work a financial injury. This view has been overcome by statutes, which have been very widely passed, and under which members of trade unions or the associated labourers in any shop may adopt labels or trade-marks for the sole purpose of designating the products of their own labour or of members of their own unions. Wherever the laws exist, they provide for the registration of the label in some State office, and impose a penalty for counterfeiting it. In Illinois it was held by the court hearing the matter that a label declaring union-made cigars to have been made by a first-class workman who belonged to an organisation that was opposed to filthy tenement-house workmanship or other insanitary production could not be held illegal as being immoral or against public policy. This doctrine, however, has been denied in Pennsylvania. As a rule, the union label is now protected by law, and when it stands absolutely as a guarantee that goods have been produced under hygienic and good economic conditions it will make its way in public esteem.

A peculiar feature of law in some States relates to the action of unions in preventing persons from learning or working at trades. Such laws have not become very general, but they strike at a very peculiar feature of trade-unionism. The law of Georgia may be cited as an example, wherein it is provided that if any two or more persons shall associate themselves together in any society or any organisation whatever, with the intent and for the purpose of preventing any person or persons from apprenticing himself or themselves to learn and practise any trade, craft, vocation, or calling, or for the purpose of inducing, by persuasion, threats, frauds, or any other means, any apprentice in such trade, etc., to leave the employment of his employer or employers, all such persons so associating themselves shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour, and upon conviction punished therefor. This is not legislation for the protection of trade unions, but legislation for the protection

of society against certain acts of trade unions. Matters referring to injunction and conspiracy have been treated in the chapter on strikes and lockouts.

Much complaint has been made at times on account of the numerous regulations which government establishes for the control or guidance of individuals and associations; but it should be remembered that society, as it develops, becomes more and more complicated, and there arises the necessity of clearer recognition by each of the other's rights. All this means an expansion of the functions of society, which must necessarily result in an increase in the rules by which society is held intact and by which its purpose is secured; that is, the happiness and well-being of the greatest number. The highest form of civil organisation is the state itself; all other organisations exist by its behest, or at least by its will; and it has the right and duty of seeing that no individual shall escape his obligation by going into an organisation, and that no organisation be persecuted simply because it is disliked by other people.

Part VIII.

Remedies.

CHAPTER XXV.

SOLUTIONS THAT ARE PROPOSED FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES.

218. References.

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219. Basis of Social Problems.

It is only natural that the complications arising from social relations should constitute in themselves phases which are called problems, and that solutions should be sought for them. To the sociologist, who has studied society in its growth, and understands, even partially, the unfolding of the elements which make society, conditions are not problems; they are results, not causes, of evolution or development. Therefore, to the sociologist all proposed solutions for social and economic difficulties are in the nature of statements of difficulties and of an attempt to modify conditions in order to bring about results other than those existing; nevertheless, he feels that proposed solutions are important as matters of study, even though they may not contain within themselves any effective remedies for supposed or recognised evils.

The whole matter is one of approach. The person who looks on social and economic problems as all arising from somebody's vicious conduct is likely to see in some proposed panacea a cure for the evils of which he complains. He who approaches these questions from the attitude of the anthropologist, or psychologist, or the sociologist, sees in the alleged evils only undevelopment, — not evils which have been created, but conditions which are not yet well perfected. To the latter a proposal to remedy the evil is in the nature of a criticism and not a settlement. The solutions proposed at various times for the difficulties which beset society are interesting from either standpoint, and brief reference to them is a valuable phase of any study of sociology.

It is quite impossible to deal with social and economic difficulties separately, for they are so intimately associated that whatever solution may be proposed for one class must in the nature of things apply to the other. Nor is it the purpose here to discuss the validity or effectiveness, or even the desired results, of the numerous remedies which are announced now and then as cures for the diseases of society, but simply to state the more important suggestions, bearing in mind that it is perfectly easy to condemn society, and that it is the particular arraignment of those who dislike some phase or feature or function of the social organisation that brings into prominence the solution which is selected as a means of relieving society from the conditions which are condemned. We must also remember, in considering proposed solutions, the great changes coming to the world through the substitution of one great motive for another; until the last century the world was ruled from the militant point of view, while now it is controlled by the interests of industrialism. It should further be remembered that whatever conflicts of interest exist at the present time, they are more generally intellectual than physical, and hence the association of physical with intellectual conditions often confuses the mind and leads to the belief that it is only the physical side which needs attention, and that the remedial agencies which would cure physical ills cannot be applied to the treatment of intellectual difficulties.

220. Minor Legislative Remedies.

The remedies for our social evils most frequently proposed may be brought under three great classes. The first are those minor changes which may be made by legislation. Whenever a difficulty exists or an evil result is feared through existing conditions, the government is called upon to protect the public; legislation is sought without reference to reason, from the notion that somewhere in the realms of law there must be a remedy for every social and industrial difficulty. Legislation

has been applied most freely as a remedial agency through the laws relating to the inspection of factories, the limitation of the hours of labour, the securing of sanitary conditions, the adoption of the principles of industrial arbitration, the extension of the liability of employers for accidents to their employees. The attempt has also been made to regulate the morals of the people in various directions, through the multitude of temperance laws, laws to regulate social evils, and a whole code of legislation. Law has worked in all these directions, and yet, taking all legislation as a whole, or any feature of it as a concrete illustration, the social and economic difficulties have not been removed, and there has been no full solution of the problems sought to be solved by law.

221. Remedies by Voluntary Agreement.

Under voluntary remedies may be considered the whole question of the regulation of wages, a change which cannot be effected by law. The attempts in England and in this country, in the early days of its history, to establish minimum or maximum wages in competitive business always resulted in failure; wages were ultimately not affected, and there was an increase of immoral action, for both the employer and the employee sought to avoid the law. This will always be the result when law attempts to say what a day's labour shall be, as against general custom, or what price shall be paid for labour.

Co-operation and profit-sharing (§§ 147, 148) have been resorted to as means by which the relations of employer and employee should be made more harmonious and the results of their labours more lucrative. The institution of these measures has been beneficial wherever applied, even when they have failed, and society has been the gainer. The removal of difficulties by the adoption of the principles of co-operation and profit-sharing has been only incidental and partial; nevertheless, the results have been most promising.

Perhaps the chief voluntary remedy suggested for social and

economic difficulties lies in the establishment of confidential relations; that is, the mutual treatment of employers and employees on an entirely manly basis, under conditions like those related in the section on conciliation (§ 155). The adoption of such a remedy as that described is more far-reaching than any other that can be named, for it is the suspicious attitude of the parties to production that leads to more difficulties than any other one cause. Could they be induced to treat each other as business associates, each entitled to the confidence of the other, the great struggle for a higher standard of living would be softened and many of the ugly quarrels avoided. There are very many minor suggestions which could be called voluntary remedies, but they all turn upon this one point of manly treatment.

222. Remedy of the Socialist.

Those persons who see no good in any of the minor remedies that have been proposed by different reformers or the voluntary remedies that have been suggested by moralists, seek at once a complete change of all social and industrial relations through the most ambitious remedy that can be proposed, — socialism. Socialism deserves an entire volume for its discussion, and no attempt will be made in this book to analyse or define it. Under it there is contemplated a complete revolution by some means, peaceful or otherwise, of the present industrial system, and the establishment of a new order, which shall rest entirely upon public control. The proposal of such an ambitious remedy should cause all students to pause before coming to a conclusion, all moralists to seek for the deep, underlying meaning of the proposition, and all politicians and statesmen to consider particularly the history of the world and the evolution of industrial forces everywhere before deciding upon its adoption. It is sufficient for the present consideration to remark that, as defined by a member of the Fabian Society of London, "socialism is at present a criticism;" that there are many features in it which

commend themselves to all right-minded persons; that it contains in itself the co-ordination of individualism and collectivism or social service, which means the co-ordination of the vital principles of competition and social service.

Those who do not propose a full and complete change under any form of advanced socialism suggest a modified form in the nature of nationalism, which contemplates the nationalisation, or taking over to the government, of the instruments of production, not at once, not by any revolutionary means, either political or otherwise, but through gradual processes, on the basis that as the public becomes convinced of the benefit of government ownership or control in one direction, it will take on other affairs gradually, until all the instruments of production and business are in the hands of the government. The advocates of this form of change, or remedy, or solution, whatever it may be called, used with great effectiveness the principles underlying the postal system, the public-school system, and now the municipalisation of quasi-public works, like the control and even ownership of water, electric light, and gas plants (§ 79).

There is still another suggestion which embodies a very ambitious remedy, and that is a complete change in our system of taxation, resulting in the adoption of what is known as the single tax. There is nothing revolutionary in this; it looks simply to such a system of taxation that the burdens shall fall upon the members of society most able to contribute to common support. Could the advocates of the single tax, for instance, satisfy the public mind that society would receive a large proportion of the benefits which they insist would come from the adoption of their system, the reform would be carried without hesitation. The difficulty lies in demonstrating what the results would be by changing the present methods of taxation; and when it is known that there is not now before the public a single suggestion relative to reform methods of taxation or systems of collecting revenue that has not been tried and failed somewhere and at some time, the difficulty of converting the public is increased.

223. What is the Social Problem?

With this partial enumeration of proposed remedies there come the greater and more pressing inquiries, What is there to remedy? What is the social problem? What is the labour question? If we read the history of the world and note the evolution of social and economic forces, we must come to the conclusion that society is the result of a very gradual evolution from the crudest possible forms of existence, and that labour, which represents the means by which society supports and develops itself, is something more than mere work. Ruskin's definition of labour in "Unto This Last" appeals to one's reason in this inquiry. "Labour," he says, "is the contest of the life of man with an opposite, the term 'life' including his intellect, soul, and physical power, contending with question, difficulty, trial, or material force. Labour is of a higher or lower order as it includes more or fewer of the elements of life; and labour of good quality, in any kind, includes always as much intellect and feeling as will fully and harmoniously regulate the physical force." This definition is comprehensive, and throws much light upon the cause of so-called difficulties. It teaches us that the real labour question is the struggle of humanity for a higher standard. This struggle is not new; it is the old conflict which has existed since the opening of the history of man. Every step in civilisation has been achieved by it, and it is the method of history. It is a conflict which cannot be avoided, and should it be avoided, the result would be not only the death of industry, but the disintegration of society. The conflict is the labour question in the broadest sense, not the minor problems of rates of wages and the hours of labour. Lifting the labour question upon this high plane, the remedies proposed seem trivial, for the human mind cannot be compelled to remain inactive, and so long as it is active there must be conflict. We must agree with John Stuart Mill in his declaration that "there is not any one abuse or injustice prevailing in society by merely abolish-

ing which the human race would pass out of suffering into happiness;" yet we can feel with most of those who have any remedy to propose, that they may contribute to a softening of the struggle, which, after all, is the real, great question.

One of the most striking illustrations along this line is the fact that the institution of slavery was one of the grandest progressive steps in the development of society. Under barbarous conditions, and before man recognised his own economic value, captors were put to death by their victors; but when the victors learned that the services of the captives could be utilised, slavery began, life was spared, and the economic value of men recognised. So slavery constituted one great step in the struggle for civilisation. When the progress of mankind made a system of free labour which was far superior to that of slave labour, both in efficiency and humanity, then slavery became a stumbling-block and had to give way to a vastly higher system.

As a result of this struggle, not by avoiding it, society is creating a new man; it is compelling the economic individual of the older political economists to give way to the social and ethical conception, — to the co-ordinated man, who comprehends social service as well as selfish service. And out of this struggle, again, grows the new political economy, which, as Henry D. Lloyd puts it, is teaching the world that "there is a new self-interest of the individual who puts his family before himself, his country before his family, mankind before his country, because there is filtering into his conscience the vast fact that his share of what is done for him by mankind is of far more value to him than what he does for himself. There is a new state, — the organised body of Christ, — which feeds the hungry, heals the sick, and visits those in prison, and gathers up the children. There is a new religion, — a religion of progress, and of man as a partner in the creation of that progress."

The study of proposed solutions of alleged evils or problems convinces one that there is coming a revival of a religion which

shall hold in its power the church, industry, commerce, and the whole social fabric. Any solution, all solutions which may be proposed must embody within themselves some phase of such a religion, and unless they do embody it and secure its adoption so far as they can, they will have no force. Thus the application of the principles underlying all the solutions of the problem, applied all along the line, may help to soften the struggle that is the great labour question, but it cannot remove it. In this view of the question one might reasonably ask, Can there be any remedy for a continuing struggle? With every new development shall we not still find confronting us the great wall of the imperfection of human nature? If practical sociology is a study of the society of men, it is also a study of man as he shows himself in society. The science, and this volume as a contribution to the science, have no function or reason for existence if they do not help us to adapt our social institutions to mankind as they are made, and equally to do our part to bring about that rise of human character which must be the foundation of social reform.

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